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of Psychoanalysis**

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on the views of Clarkson and Fromm**

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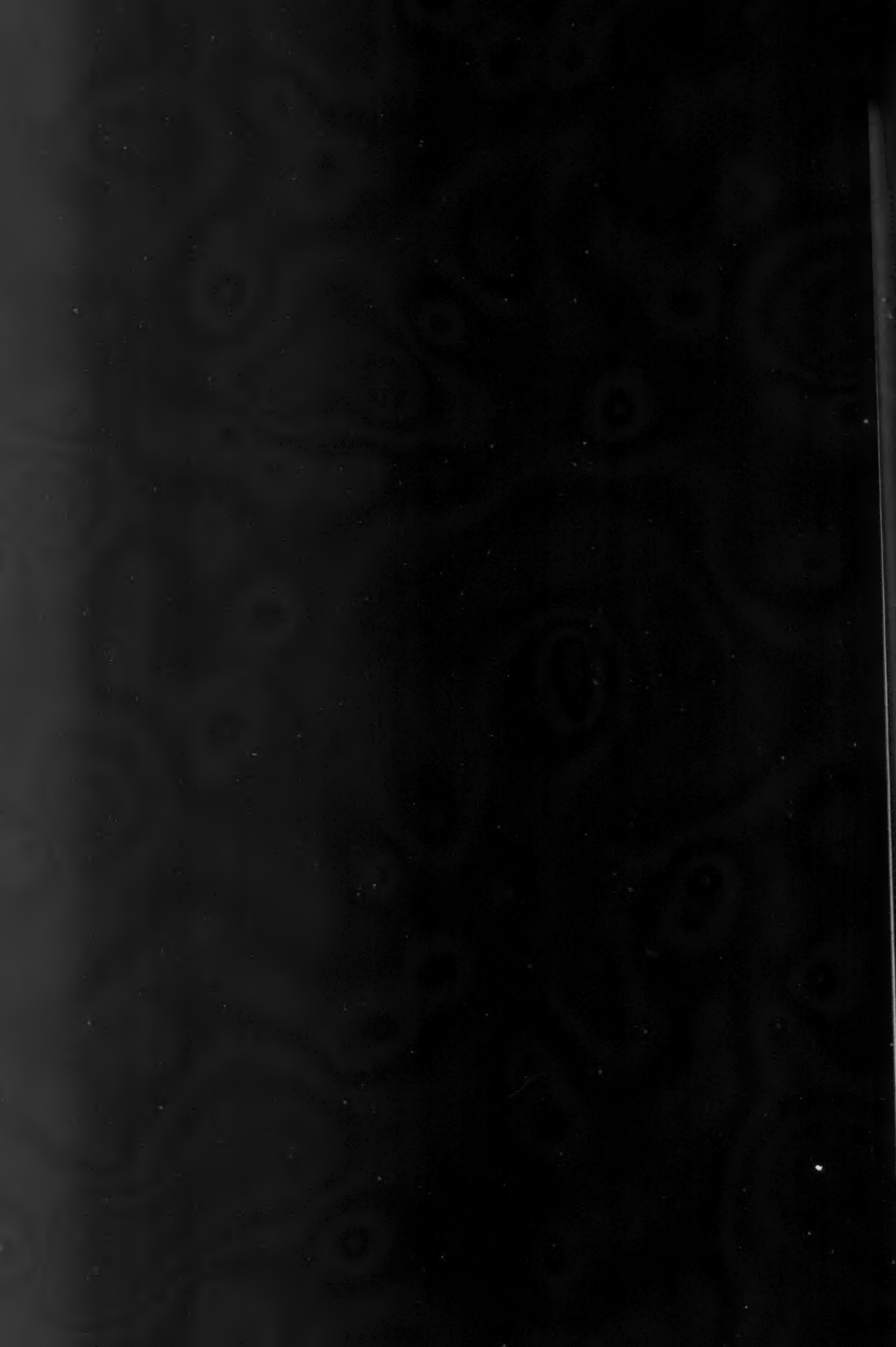
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John Clarkson

THE FUNCTION OF ANTI-SEX

The Social Meaning of Dr. Erich Fromm's Ethical Desexualization of Psychoanalysis

Among the latter-day epigones of Marx and Freud, Dr. Erich Fromm has achieved unique distinction by having managed simultaneously to drape himself in the mantles of both. Dr. Fromm is widely accepted as an authority on psychoanalysis, and likewise purveys his own brand of socialism. His latest book, *The Sane Society*, according to its jacket blurb, presents for the first time "a complete and systematic concept of humanistic psychoanalysis", as well as outlining "various possibilities for social change". The last is an understatement. Actually Dr. Fromm offers to the world nothing less than "Humanistic Communitarian Socialism"; this, together with a strategy and methods for transforming society, such strategy and practical devices being none the less political for all their careful apolitical formulation. What an achievement to have brought socialism and psychoanalysis into the same bed! These two movements have rarely been on comfortable speaking terms before.

But even more astonishing than the exploit of having arranged these happy nuptials between movements that had previously bristled with so many incompatibilities, is the blessing that Dr. Fromm has secured for this union from the powers that be. Two decades ago when Dr. Wilhelm Reich attempted his rapprochement between the ideas of Marx and Freud, all the wrath of Christendom burst about his head. He was expelled from both movements, and society at large loosed its dogs against him. Dr. Fromm, however, has secured an opposite reaction. The man who has lately brought socialism and psychoanalysis to wed is honored in the universities and extolled from the pulpits.

His books and articles flow from the printing presses. In the *New York Times*, 8th January, 1956, in a review of the symposium "What Is Science? Twelve Eminent Scientists and Philosophers Explain Their Various Fields to the Layman", Professor I. Bernard Cohen of Harvard states: "Erich Fromm's presentation of psychoanalysis is a classic of succinctness and lucidity". Possibly Sigmund Freud might have commented otherwise in view of Dr. Fromm's persistent efforts to desexualise psychoanalysis.

In 1955 Dr. Fromm participated in another symposium, this one issued by the Society For The Study of Social Problems, and entitled *Sexual Behavior In American Society, An Appraisal of*

the First Two Kinsey Reports. Dr. Erich Fromm, who is presented to the public as "Fellow and Trustee, William Alanson White Institute of Psychiatry, Psychoanalysis and Psychology, New York City", contributes Chapter 27 entitled "Sex and Character. The Kinsey Report Viewed From The Standpoint Of Psychoanalysis". This discussion of character reveals something of Dr. Fromm's own character. It is worth some analysis.

Because the sexual question is an explosive issue, the Kinsey reports have become something of a touchstone to separate honest dissidents from the mob of slavish and cynical intellectuals who support the system, although their defenses of it may be variously disguised. The Kinsey reports have come in for every sort of attack, ranging from faint praise and peevish carping to swingeing, eye-gouging assault. Frequently, new works of scholarship of radical import are given the silent treatment. This method could not be applied to the Kinsey reports because of their mass circulation and the public furore that ensued. Guardians of the moral order were obliged to attack, and where their cultural function is a disguised one, they found themselves obliged to devise indirect means for undermining Kinsey without impairing their valuable reputations as liberals.

It is of particular significance, then, to determine exactly where Dr. Fromm stands on the Kinsey issue. And when at the outset of his discussion of *Sex and Character* he appears to support Kinsey against "unfriendly criticism by a number of psychoanalysts (a minority only, I hope)",¹ it becomes necessary to determine the actual substance of Dr. Fromm's implied approval.

One will search Dr. Fromm's chapter in vain for any specific reference to the content of Kinsey's findings, either pro or con, except, possibly, the sapient admission that "Kinsey has succeeded in unearthing relevant data in a field which is believed to be impenetrable".² For this reason, and secondly, because Kinsey's "data throw light on one aspect of behavior and hence, if properly interpreted, on the social character",³ Dr. Fromm submits that "Kinsey's survey ought to be very stimulating to social scientists", specifically social psychologists.

One favorite way of sniping at Kinsey is to impugn his methods and to pick flaws in his statistical technique. Dr. Fromm grants that "the quantitative-statistical method [was] legitimately used by Kinsey for the study of sexual behavior", and he also admonishes social psychologists to "approach their problems with the same courage and energy which Kinsey and his collaborators have demonstrated in their work".⁴ But Dr. Fromm plainly rejects Kinsey's "quantitative-statistical" method for social psychology and future "empirical investigations studying the forces underlying mass

1. *Sexual Behavior In American Society*, page 302.

2. *Ibid.*, page 310.

3. *Ibid.*, page 310.

4. *Ibid.*, page 310.

behavior" which he deems now to be imperative. For if Dr. Fromm draws any precise conclusion at all from the Kinsey reports, it is that their appearance has underlined with special urgency the need for correlative, possibly corrective studies of the "social character" by social psychologists.

Dr. Fromm distinguishes *social character* from *individual character*⁵ as being "the core of character common to most members of a culture, in contradistinction to the *individual character* in which people belonging to the same culture differ from each other".⁶

As Dr. Fromm has explained in another context, "it is the social character's function to mold and channel human energy within a given society for the purpose of the continued functioning of this society".⁷ Such human energy is emotionally generated, and the "emotional forces which are operating in most of its members become powerful forces in the social process, stabilizing, changing, or disrupting it". Dr. Fromm is critical of the preoccupation of "contemporary social science" with the opinion poll, confined in its subject matter "to what people *think* (or believe that they are supposed to think) instead of studying the emotional forces behind their thinking".⁸ Studies of opinion, he opines, limit themselves to surface phenomena failing to penetrate to the undercurrents of mass emotion. Thus, their predictive value is limited, for, "from the standpoint of *social dynamics* every opinion is worth only as much as the emotional matrix in which it is rooted", and "only if we know these forces are we able to predict how members of a society will react in critical situations . . .".⁹

For the phrase "social dynamics" substitute the plainer and less pretentious word, politics. Actually Dr. Fromm is occupied with practical politics and offers a political approach directed to feeling and emotion rather than the classic humanist appeal to reason. This might seem odd because Dr. Fromm calls himself a humanist, and inconsistent, possibly, inasmuch as Dr. Fromm has written extensively against the Nazis whose political technique, it will be recalled, gave primacy to the manipulation of mass feeling and emotion. In any case Dr. Fromm's emphasis, here, on the "emotional matrix" of public opinion should serve as an alert. Political methods for

5. When Dr. Fromm attempts to sharpen his definition of the "social character" by placing it in "contradistinction to the *individual character*" he does not quite make sense. The "social character" is a legitimate generalisation. There can be, however, no abstract generalised "individual character", only concrete individual characters or personalities, as many as there are individuals. In a society that enforces conformity and mass mediocrity as successfully as ours does at present, individual characters, that is to say, individuals, will differ only slightly, and for the most part, only in socially insignificant details in their personal particularization of the "social character."

6. *Sexual Behavior*, page 309.

7. *Sane Society*, page 79.

8. *Sexual Behavior*, page 309.

9. *Ibid.*, page 309.

molding opinion through the management of mass emotion are the means of fascism, not of socialism.

Dr. Fromm in discussing the study of the emotional undercurrents of the social character in terms of the *prediction* of mass behavior in "critical situations" (would these be "revolutionary situations" in Dr. Fromm's socialist vocabulary?) leaves no doubt that his concern with such prediction is practical. Prediction of mass behavior is a prerequisite for controlling it. Further, an interest in controlling it is directly implied. And obviously motivated by such interest, Dr. Fromm urges the study of the social character and its emotional undercurrents as against the superficial opinion surveys of the pollsters. But who buys the pollsters' wares? Can it be that Dr. Fromm is interested in competing in that market?

"What, for instance, do we know about the happiness of people in our culture?" Practically nothing, says Dr. Fromm. Nor, he says, do we know any more about the effective rôle of ethical considerations in influencing contemporary behavior. Notwithstanding the paucity of reliable data on the effectiveness of ethics, "tremendous expenditures in energy and money are made to increase the weight of ethical motivations".¹⁰ It is interesting that Dr. Fromm should express alarm over the waste of "tremendous" sums of money in promoting ineffective ethical controls. His concern should be appreciated by those who furnish the money. On the other hand, it is hard to see how there could be any like enthusiasm among the large body of social scientists who now find opinion polling and surveys a lucrative field of operation. For expressing these views, we might, if we chose, credit Dr. Fromm with professional courage of a sort similar to that which he accords Kinsey.

Why does Dr. Fromm think it so important to discover the exact "degree of genuine happiness or unhappiness in our culture", which he claims is now "anybody's guess"?¹¹ His own reply is that "it is this very knowledge which can answer the question whether our institutions fulfill the purpose they are devised for: the greatest happiness of the greatest number".¹² First, let it be noted, this is an odd statement to fall from the lips of a socialist, even from a "Humanistic Communitarian Socialist". Over the years the mantle of Marx has proved to be very elastic, and many are the strange constructions over which it has been stretched, but few stranger than this assertion that the institutions of capitalist society "are devised" "to fulfill" "the greatest happiness of the greatest number". It had always seemed that even the most diverse species of socialists were united at least to the extent of agreement that capitalist institutions were devised and maintained for objectives quite remote from insuring "the greatest happiness of the greatest number".

Be that as it may, and regardless of the peculiarities of Dr. Fromm's

10. *Sexual Behavior*, page 310.

11. *Ibid.*, page 309.

12. *Ibid.*, page 310.

formulation, there is admittedly direct connection between the level of happiness prevailing in a given society and the stability of its institutions. Social institutions are the structured means whereby the masses are habituated to misery and bound in patterns of recurrent frustration. These repressive structures are threatened and likewise the entire social fabric trembles on occasion when the curve of social misery dips suddenly and steeply, or when for various reasons a new or sharpened awareness of customary abnegations penetrates public consciousness.

It is thus important for "social dynamics" to utilize whatever means it may to prevent awareness of the repressive rôle of social institutions from breaking through into public consciousness. It is in this connection that the "problem of sex and happiness" becomes urgent for "social scientists" like Dr. Fromm. Almost invariably such social scientists turn a consideration of this problem, at one stage or another, into a defense of the institution of compulsive marriage, albeit such a defense may take so tactful and so sophisticated a form as to be hardly recognizable for what it is. Nevertheless, they all seek in one way or another to anchor the dogma that monogamy, if not quite a sacred ordinance, is all the same a right and wholesome estate uniquely satisfactory to human needs, and alone harmonious with the laws of nature.

In his comments on the Kinsey reports, Dr. Fromm does not go so far as openly to defend the institution of compulsive marriage, but he does work out a rationale for such a defence. The same rationale recurs in *The Sane Society*, and likely will be often borrowed in classroom and pulpit. It were well to let Dr. Fromm state the key premise himself: "Freud and his school emphasized that sexual satisfaction was one condition for mental health and happiness. To-day it is widely advocated and believed that marital happiness is based primarily on sexual satisfaction and that marital unhappiness can be cured by applying better sexual techniques. However, the facts do not seem to bear out these assumptions. True enough, many neuroses are coupled with sexual disturbances and many unhappy people suffer also from sexual frustrations; but it is not true that sexual satisfaction is the cause of—or identical with—mental health and happiness".¹³ (Emphasis added—J.C.)

If "it is not true that sexual satisfaction is the cause of—or identical with—mental health and happiness", what then is the truth of the matter? Does Dr. Fromm dare imply that "mental health and happiness" are possible for those whose sexual life is chronically disturbed, frustrated, or denied? As Dr. Fromm has introduced the subject of marriage, what precisely does he have to say about "marital happiness"? Does Dr. Fromm openly state that marriages can be happy, wholesome, or even tolerable which fail to yield sexual satisfaction? Or does he seek to avoid ambiguity by making any clear assertion to the contrary? Characteristically, Dr. Fromm confuses and evades the issue.

13. *Sexual Behavior*, page 307.

Meaningless arguments as to whether "sexual satisfaction [is] the paramount condition for happiness", or whether "marital happiness is based *primarily* on sexual satisfaction" (Emphasis added—J.C.) are diversionary and misleading. Certainly there is more to happiness in marriage and in life than sexual satisfaction. But let no one be deceived by semantic manipulations of this obvious truism into thinking that the factor of sexual satisfaction is incidental, trivial, or to be brushed aside or otherwise dispensed with. Admittedly, sex is not everything, but it does not follow that sex is nothing or practically nothing. The simple straightforward fact is that there are *several necessary conditions* for marital happiness, one of which is sexual satisfaction. It is precisely this fact of being necessary and indispensable, no more, no less, that Dr. Fromm is at pains to obscure.

Dr. Fromm deftly disparages "sexual techniques". Whoever said that marital happiness was *solely* a matter of sexual technique? Notwithstanding, sexual technique is a worthy art that needs no apology. In a like manner in his discussion of "sexual satisfaction", Dr. Fromm manages to evoke images of the disturbed potency of the so-called sexual athlete. Does Dr. Fromm, as an authority on psychoanalysis, mean to identify priapic prowess with sexual satisfaction? It is now commonly understood that it is exactly the pathological inability to achieve sexual satisfaction that is frequently manifested in satyriasis or nymphomania.

Dr. Fromm states that "sexual desires can be the expression of fear, vanity, or of a wish for domination . . .".¹⁴ Most assuredly this is true of *disordered* sexual desire. Such pathological perversion is symptomatic of neurosis, as Dr. Fromm well knows. And it is exactly wide-spread neurosis of this kind that lies at the core of the prevailing "social character".

As has been noted, Dr. Fromm designates by "social character" the cultural common denominator of a society as distinguished from particular individual differences, and possibly special class differences, also. This is a useful distinction. Beneath the seemingly random proliferation of personal and class differences in modern European culture, there is a common core of behaviour anchored and perpetuated in institutionalised family relations. While the social character does not determine individual character in an absolute sense, it heavily conditions it, and it does, in most cases, set strict limits upon individual expression and development.

Dr. Fromm in choosing to consider the "dynamic" relationship between "sex and character" takes pains to align himself with H. S. Sullivan, and against views attributed to Freud. "Interpersonal relationships, assumed by Freud to be the *result* of varying forms of sexual desire, are considered [by Fromm and Sullivan] to be the factors determining sexual strivings. In this view *it is not sexual behavior that determines character, but character that determines sexual behavior*".¹⁵ Dr. Fromm's dictum that it is character—a

14. *Sexual Behavior*, page 308.

15. *Ibid.*, page 303.

priorly given datum—that determines sexual behavior apparently applies to individual characters, that is, personalities. That he is not referring in this context to the “social character” is apparent from his summation on the following page: “In our view sexual behavior is not the cause but the effect of a person’s character structure”.¹⁶

But whence that prior and private individual possession, “a person’s character structure”? Dr. Fromm is silent, here, about the rôle of the “social character”. Nor does he analyse the complex “interaction” whereby the social character sets conditions for the interplay of personalities, that is individual characters, and at the same time is itself changed, however slightly, in the process. In his section on “The Social Character” in *The Sane Society*, Dr. Fromm makes it clear that he holds that particular individual characters are determined, that is “shaped” to an important degree, by the social character, that “nucleus of the character structure which is shared by most members of the same culture”.¹⁷ Actually it is so that in the western world there is a nucleus of common character anchored in compulsive marriage and the possessive family that does to a large extent determine individual sex behavior. Also, it is just as true on the obverse that it is a particular quality of individual sex behavior that supports and perpetuates these institutionalised relations, or if you choose, the social character. It is these concrete, dynamic, mutually supporting relationships that Dr. Fromm, and likewise the entire “interpersonal relations” school, strive to distort and obscure.

For in the final stand, the “interpersonal relations” school of psychology is concerned to defend and to shore the prevailing forms and relations of western culture up to and including existing property relations. These people understand full well that sexual privation is an integral and necessary element of the general, inclusive privation that is enforced by physical and moral compulsion under capitalism’s artificially maintained economy of scarcity. Thus they minimise the rôle of sexual behavior. Sex becomes trivial. Or the problem is taken care of by the brazen assertion “that sexual repression has diminished to a remarkable degree”, that a “sexual revolution” has virtually established “sexual freedom”.¹⁸ License is not sexual freedom, but commonly the concomitant of restriction and frustration. The fact of wide-spread and aggravated sexual frustration in this society is a palpable and insistent fact, however assiduously and ingeniously “social scientists” like Dr. Fromm may deny or attempt to disguise it. Studies are not required to prove, nor can they disprove¹⁹ the prevalent massive sex misery. It is a fact too intimately

16. *Sexual Behavior*, page 304.

17. *Sane Society*, page 78.

18. *Ibid.*, pages 101-102.

19. Authoritarian science can rig studies to “prove” anything. While ancient soothsayers inspected the entrails of birds and animals, modern hierophants practise divination by statistics and their mechanical manipulation by the I.B.M.

and recurrently felt in individual experience. It is only natural for the "social scientists", as defenders of the system, to make every effort to deny this fact, to suppress it from consciousness, or at least to minimise it. To the extent that they are realistic they will attempt to insulate this disturbing fact, that is to separate it from the cultural context in order to keep its political implications hidden as much as possible. In the long run such efforts must fail. In the short run they may be more successful. And it is on this front that some of the most energetic propaganda *against* a sane society is being waged.

Success in persuading the public that "happy" marriages can be achieved in spite of incidental sexual frustration can have a number of consequences. It at once elevates the institution of compulsive marriage to a relatively secure and protected position above the uncertain fluctuations of individual misery in an endemic social condition of material and emotional insecurity. But by denying the importance of sexual satisfaction *within* the marriage relation, it surreptitiously opens the door to the *sub rosa* quest for illicit sexual satisfaction *outside* the marriage relation.

Thus the defence of compulsive marriage becomes, in effect, the defence of what its champions pretend to abhor. For in defending marriage devoid of sexual satisfaction, they are shoring and patching a facade of hypocrisy that hides but dimly an utterly fantastic saturnalia of neurosis and crime from which everything that is joyful, wholesome, and responsible in the sex relation is more completely excluded with every passing day.

Naturally, Dr. Fromm does not take an open stand against marital happiness. The boldest moralist to-day dares not do that. As we have seen, to exclude "sexual satisfaction" as a necessary prerequisite for marital happiness may either be to deny force to the sexual appetite or to suggest that "satisfaction" be achieved outside the marriage relation. There is a third alternative, however, namely, the *ethical* solution to the problem of happiness. This is the one that Dr. Fromm falls back on, quoting Spinoza to the effect that happiness is *virtue*, the delight whereby we restrain our lusts.

To the unsophisticated, happiness would appear to be more simple and substantial than that. And some recalcitrants would deny that they required a course in ethics to savor life's joys. Yet, strangely enough, a course in ethics, that is to say in the philosophy of renunciation, has been found effective to ensure submission when a fair share of life's joys has been *withheld*. Nor is this course one that is delayed until the university, but starts with the mother's milk. The family is the prime school for ethics, and while the infant is grappling with the ABC's of controlled gratification, the parents are taking a post-graduate course in what Dr. Fromm calls the "*social character*", or, as he bluntly puts it, "*wanting to act as they have to act*".²⁰ "Gratification in acting according to the requirements of culture": that is the specific content Dr. Fromm intends for

20. *Sane Society*, page 79.

"happiness". But what if the "requirements of culture" are such as do not yield happiness? Ah, then the individual's drive for satisfaction must be adjusted, but not the social structure. It is from this standpoint that Dr. Fromm attempts to persuade us that marriages devoid of sexual gratification can be happy ones.

In all effort to be fair and not to misconstrue Dr. Fromm's meaning, it were well to take a more comprehensive view of what he is saying here. Marriage, far from being limited to a simple sexual relationship, is rather a complex of social relationships. It is a truism that marriage is an economic relationship. In addition, in this society, as in most, marriage is normally a child-begetting and a child-rearing relationship. Concretely, in individual marriages, these several component relationships assume different relative weights, or, exceptionally, one or more of them may be absent from the total configuration. Childless marriages, and seemingly happy ones, too, are not uncommon. Occasionally there are stable marriages that are quite sexless. In addition there are marriages, mainly among the wealthy, in which the classic economic conflicts have been largely surmounted.

These last, in which one partner is not dependent on the other, and both are equally secure and free from economic compulsions, are not typical of our capitalist society. In some instances such exceptional marriages anticipate a higher stage of social organisation. Under capitalism the marriage relationship is identified with the family relationship, and the family is, above all, an economic arrangement. Indeed, marriage is structured as the basic economic institution of society. The family produces human beings, that is to say it is the source of human material required for production. Further, it educates and disciplines the productive working force. "The production of human beings"²¹ far from being accomplished by the physiological process of procreation, only begins with parturition. The production of human beings structured to fulfil their respective rôles on either side of the great class divide in capitalist society is a long process of education and discipline. Dr. Fromm is well aware of this, and has stated that the family "may be considered to be the *psychic agency of society*, the institution which has the function of transmitting the requirements of society to the growing child".²² This is only a partial statement. In actuality the disciplinary function of the family bears with equal severity on adults, as well. Thus, not only does the family begin in infancy to mold and to consolidate the "social

21. "According to the materialist conception, the determining factor in history is, in the final instance, the production and reproduction of the immediate essentials of life. This, again, is of a twofold character. On the one side, the production of the means of existence, of articles of food and clothing, dwellings, and of tools necessary for that production; on the other side, the production of human beings themselves, the propagation of the species." *The Origin Of The Family, Private Property, and The State*. Frederick Engels, International Publishers, New York, 1942, page 5, Preface to the First Edition.

22. *Same Society*, page 82.

character", to use Dr. Fromm's phrase, but throughout life it supports and enforces the "social character".

Beneath the class dichotomy of capitalism the roots of the "social character" are identical for the exploiters and the exploited. The basic required traits are submission to authority, resignation to duty, deferment of satisfaction, renunciation of desire, conformity and obedience. For different classes the expression of these identical traits of the "social character" assumes a different content. But the repressive essence is the same. If the worker is driven by his boss, the boss is frequently driven even harder by his Duty.²³ A system that has not freed itself from the limitations of material scarcity cannot permit freedom to anyone living under it, and enforces its slavery upon high and low alike, though in varying kind and degree.

So long as the problem of scarcity remains unsolved, so long must men labour painfully to satisfy their material needs; yet not producing a sufficiency for all, so long must society employ compulsion of one kind or another. The success of capitalism in its ascendant period, meaning the prodigious expansion of the productive capacity of society in the 19th century, bespeaks the effectiveness of its methods and devices of compulsion.

Now that the material prerequisites for abundance unlimited have been attained and the final emancipation of the human race from age-old economic slavery is within grasp, the cultural mechanism that whipped men so relentlessly into productive effort formerly, in this day drives them into madness. The inhuman disciplines, culturally devised to make men work as men had never worked before and need never work again, refuse to be abolished now that the economic problem has been solved. Their power and deep-rootedness is evidenced by the tenacity of their death grip.²⁴

The industrial revolution and the rise of capitalism are identified in popular thinking with the invention of engines and machines and the expansion of a power technology based upon coal and iron. Less appreciation is to be found for the cultural mechanisms developed to harness the psychic energy of human passion and affections in the

23. Stern Daughter of the Voice of God!
O Duty! if that name thou love
Who art a light to guide, a rod
To check the erring, and reprove;

Oh, let my weakness have an end!
Give unto me made lowly wise,
The spirit of self-sacrifice;

From William Wordsworth's "Ode To Duty" written at the beginning of the 19th century.

24. A prominent social scientist sees it differently: "It is clear we have developed a society which depends on having the *right* amount of anxiety to make it work." (Margaret Mead, *New York Times Magazine*, 20th May, 1956.) Apparently Miss Mead believes our society is working, hence the amount of anxiety that prevails, though it puts one out of ten, or more, in hospitals, is "hopeful" and "right".

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service of commodity production. Nor is it fully appreciated why the apogee of hypocrisy and repression in manners and morals occurred in Victorian England coincident with the final flowering of capitalism in the leading capitalist nation of the world.

The first crude, tentative ventures at social organisation seem to have been in substantial part attempts to control erotic feelings and to confine them within forms of expression consistent with the needs of the prevailing economy. No human societies have been discovered lacking some sort of institutionalised marriage and family relationships in which economic and sexual activity were mingled, with consequent restrictions upon the latter. Thus it appears that restriction upon the sexual appetite was an invariable element in the rise of civilisation, that is to say in the gradual progress of human mastery of the material conditions of life.

How sexual repression operates to economic advantage in particular productive systems under scarcity is a complex function that is at once involved and obscure. An adequate historical analysis remains to be worked out. A comprehensive explanation for advanced cultures promises great difficulty. To begin with the subject is taboo. This is a dark corner into which few contemporary social scientists have any intention of shining their flashlights. Yet there are indications available—and some of long standing—as to how sexual privation works, in general, to make humans servile, tractable and exploitable, or compulsive to duty. The facts are scattered through a thousand works leading back from Kinsey. The basis for integrating and interpreting these facts is already laid in Engels and Freud.²⁵ Actually the economic function of sex repression is well understood by many social scientists who take care, however, not to publicise this insight.

Dr. Fromm, for one, betrays a clear comprehension of the reactionary effects of social restrictions on sex. He is at once surprisingly frank and at the same time safely obscure, for one of the things that puts Dr. Fromm above the ordinary rank of "social scientists" is his facility in writing for two audiences at once—caviare for the professional cognoscenti, moral pie for the general. In opening a discussion of "ethical implications of sexual behavior", Dr. Fromm observes that "for centuries sexuality had been stigmatised as morally bad. . . . Every sexual activity which was not for the purpose of procreation, and particularly all sexual deviations, were considered to be morally evil".²⁶ Why is this so? Because, so far as we can capture any direct answer in Dr. Fromm's elusive generalities, "man's flesh was a source of corruption and that only by suppressing

25. Dr. Wilhelm Reich, 25 years ago, based extensive analysis of the social function of sex privation upon the pioneer insights of Engels and Freud, for example in *The Mass Psychology of Fascism* and *The Sexual Revolution*. In particular Reich predicted early Russian counter-revolutionary degeneration from the Russian retreat from sex freedom.

26. *Sexual Behavior*, page 305.

instinctual demands could goodness be achieved".²⁷ This is no explanation, but of itself calls for elucidation. Instead of a sensible reason we are given an analogy between moral badness and the disintegration of the body after death.

Then at the end of the next paragraph Dr. Fromm actually gives the explanation which he should have brought forward at first. It is thrown out in a different context, without any explicit causal connection being established with his first statement, that for centuries sex has been stigmatised as bad. After pointing to Freud's finding that suppression of sex frequently leads to neurosis, Dr. Fromm says: "But it seems that another effect of sexual taboos is not less important: the development of intense guilt feelings in every individual. Since every normal human being has sexual strivings from childhood on, these very strivings must become an inexhaustible source of guilt feelings if they are stigmatised by the culture as evil. *Guilt feelings make a person prone to submit to authorities which want to use and subdue him for their own ends.*"²⁸ (Emphasis mine—J.C.) This is profoundly true. Dr. Fromm's concluding statement, here, that "maturity and happiness conflict with the existence of an all-pervasive sense of guilt" is also quite correct, except that guilt to be effectively pathogenic by no means has to be "all-pervasive". Some might wonder how Dr. Fromm would ever be able to square the statement just quoted with one he makes two pages later, and one that we have already examined, namely, that "it is not true that sexual satisfaction is the cause of—or identical with—mental health and happiness". How does Dr. Fromm reconcile these two seemingly opposed views? This is done by equating it at one time with the absence of sex-guilt—something different from sexual satisfaction—and then at another time identifying "happiness" with Spinoza's state of virtuous delight whereby one restrains one's lusts.

But now to revert to Dr. Fromm's formulation that cultural stigmatization of normal sexual strivings induces guilt feelings that "make a person prone to submit to authorities which want to subdue him for their own ends". This is an acute insight²⁹ and the

27. *Sexual Behavior*, page 305.

28. *Ibid.*, page 305.

29. Dr. Fromm, for his own good reasons, ignores the psychosomatic mechanism that connects privation, guilt, and submission in endless circular frustration. The recognition of the social function of guilt anxiety in enforcing submission is an insight acquired from Freud, who did not, however, penetrate very far into the specific psychosomatic process. Greater light on what is involved is thrown by Wilhelm Reich, Freud's pupil and one time close collaborator. Dr. Reich's classic discussion of this problem is to be found in his book, *The Function Of The Orgasm*, New York, 1942. More recently Dr. Reich's work has taken a highly speculative, not to say, fantastic, turn. The vagaries of the current period, while they do, admittedly, raise doubts, may not be used legitimately to discredit retroactively or to refute Reich's earlier findings which stand on their own footing and require to be tested scientifically independent of subsequent additions and reformulations, and without bringing in irrelevancies concerning Reich's personality.

formulation is accurate so far as it goes. It is important to grasp this insight for it clears up a troublesome mystery, namely, the heretofore unexplained stigmatization of sex and sexual satisfaction as bad by most cultures at a certain stage of economic development. So universal a development could not have been accidental. And it only becomes understandable as an indispensable social invention where conditions of material scarcity necessitated compulsive inducement to labor and the subordination of one segment of society to another. Thus would be explained why the denigration of sex generally increased in the degree that advancing production required ever greater exactions of labor and renunciation from the laboring masses, and likewise ever greater devotion to business and duty from those who direct the productive process.

An hypothesis of economic utility of sex-guilt under conditions of material scarcity would explain much more that previously has been obscure or inexplicable. It even explains something that in another context is "amazing" to Dr. Fromm, as we shall see. First, however, it is in order to apply this insight to the enigma of religious illusion. Why is it that religious superstition and practice is so invariably identified with the regulation of sexual expression in cultures developed under the pinch of scarcity? The answer is simple. Religion works both as a mechanism for inducing sex-guilt and as a mechanism for controlling it. Religion induces a perpetual state of sinful anxiety and at the same time provides for draining off the harmful excess of this emotive force, that is, what is over and above the amount required to make submissive workers and dutiful masters.

Religion makes men ever conscious of their sin but periodically relieves their accumulated guilt. Because men are purged of their anxiety every seventh day, they are able to work on the other six. Religion turns out to be an economy of sin, that is guilt, and at the root, sex-guilt. That is why in popular thinking—which in this case, as in others, hits the truth closer than some sophisticated rationalizations—sin is identified, if not equated, with sex.

Also accounted for is another observation of Dr. Fromm's, thrown out for his own purposes without reasonable explanation. "The stigmatization of sex had another most undesirable result—ethics was narrowed down to the small area of sexual behavior, and thus the really significant ethical problems in human behavior were veiled."³⁰ Ethics was narrowed down thus, because the prevailing conditions of production demanded it. Further, as one who claims to be a socialist should know, any broad, effective solution to "significant", that is to say, fundamental, ethical problems is excluded in economies of scarcity.

If the leadings of the hypothesis of the economic utility of sex-guilt

30. *Sexual Behavior*, page 305.

are followed, much becomes simple and clear concerning the origin and progress of psychoanalysis, much that seems to escape Dr. Fromm. It should throw light indirectly on Dr. Fromm's hostility to Freud, which like that of some other revisionists of psychoanalysis is only thinly veiled, and at times breaks through in malicious and outrageous distortion.³¹

Freud, as the consistent child of nineteenth-century materialism, was by intellectual conviction an atheist, and recognised the illusory nature of religious belief. In his later years he grasped to a considerable extent religion's social function for controlling anxiety. Thus Freud foresaw the persistence of religious illusions in spite of their irrationality. To some extent he realised that his own invention, psychoanalysis, was called forth by the partial failure of capitalism's religious mechanism, and that psychoanalysis from the first was a substitute for religion.³² Possibly in his early inventive years when he devised the basis of classic psychoanalytic technique, he worked largely unconsciously and mostly unaware of the social need and contradictions that were working through him. Certainly the growing concern of his later years with the broader social questions was an expression of his deepening appreciation of the social rôle that psychoanalysis would come to play. Freud's rationalizations were kept on a relatively high plane. It is a surety that Freud never clearly foresaw the extent of the debasement of accommodation to

31. E.g., "For Freud, man is driven by . . . the craving for . . . complete sexual freedom, that is, unlimited sexual access to all women he might find desirable." *Sane Society*, page 74.

32. For 30 years, from 1909 to the end of Freud's life, the Protestant clergyman, Oskar Pfister of Zürich was Freud's close friend and collaborator. Pfarrer Pfister applied the insights and techniques of psychoanalysis in his pastoral duties. The following quotation is taken from a letter from Freud to Pfister in 1909 and published in the appendix of Vol. 2 of Ernest Jones's *The Life and Work of Sigmund Freud*, New York, 1955.

"You on the other hand have young people with recent conflicts who are attached to you personally, and who are in a suitable state for sublimation and indeed its most convenient form—religious sublimation. You do not, of course, doubt that in the first place your success comes about in the same way as ours, through the erotic transference to your person. But you are in the fortunate position of leading them on to God and reconstructing the conditions of earlier times, fortunate at least in the one respect that religious piety stifles neuroses. We no longer have this opportunity of settling the matter. People in general, whatever their racial origin, are irreligious—we are mostly thoroughly irreligious—and since the other forms of sublimation through which *we* replace religion are commonly too difficult for most patients our cure generally issues in the search for gratification. Moreover we do not see in sexual gratification anything forbidden or sinful in itself but recognise it as a valuable part of our vital activity. You know that our word 'erotic' includes what in your profession is called 'love' and is not at all restricted to gross sensual pleasure. Thus our patients have to seek in people what we are not able to promise them from the Land Above and what we have to refuse them personally. Naturally, therefore, it is much harder for us, and dissolving the transference impairs many good results."

the general retrogression of a putrescent capitalism that would come at the hands of a revisionist priesthood. It is that same revisionist priesthood who have now effected an amicable division of labor and perquisites with the older priesthoods, and complacently identify themselves, like Dr. Fromm, with "the great spiritual teachers of the human race".³³

Dr. Fromm states that "Freud pointed to the fact that the suppression of sex frequently led to the development of neurosis".³⁴ Actually Freud categorically asserted innumerable times his theory of a basic and invariant sexual etiology of neurosis. It is well known how Freud was compelled by the empirical findings of his early practice to recognize the sexual factor. Dr. A. A. Brill in his introduction to *The Basic Writings of Sigmund Freud* states: "I have always found it hard to understand why Freud's views on sex roused so much opposition. Freud did not enter that realm voluntarily, but was forced by the natural course of events into taking account of the sexual factor in neurosis." "The natural course of events" was mainly, to be sure, the symptoms of his patients. It is of greatest significance to understand why Freud's patients, particularly at the beginning, were predominantly of upper-class origin, and mainly upper-class women. That only persons of means, not to say wealth, could afford analytic treatment is not sufficient reason. This is no reason why persons, and the particular class of persons involved, should require treatment and should be impelled to make the substantial expenditure of money and effort required for analysis. No, this reason will not suffice, and it is necessary to go much deeper.

We must now examine the psychosomatic mechanism whereby sex-guilt supports an economy of scarcity. The biophysical aspect of sexual suppression is still obscure. Precisely how and why postponement of gratification and its denial in general produces and maintains a submissive character requires extensive research. That interference of the sexual function starting in infancy and continuing throughout life has this effect there can be no doubt. Such resulting character traits as submission to authority, resignation to hardship and painful experience generally, compulsive adherence to duty, and the like, are accompanied invariably by anxiety in some form or degree and frequently by other specific neurotic symptoms. Unless anxiety expressed as guilt feelings or consciousness of sin as well as related neurotic symptoms can be controlled, that is, alleviated and kept within due bounds, they prevent effective participation in production. In that case the cultural gain from the sex-denial-guilt mechanism would be lost. This is prevented in two ways. We have

33. *Sane Society*, page 69.

34. *Sexual Behavior*, page 305.

seen how religion at the same time as it cultivates a sense of sin, also periodically prunes this morbid growth to keep it within manageable bounds. But there is another specific against anxiety. That is compulsive work. Work is often a symptom that to some extent functions as its own therapy. Absorption in work, the more exacting, the more effective, has long been known to be a specific for maiming emotional wounds. Thus it happens to be a fact that so long as humans have God and work they can usually carry on in their life station in a decent and acceptable fashion. Even with only one of these it is possible to manage.

When, however, God fails and the anodyne of compulsive work is withheld, while at the same time sexual repression obtains and is even aggravated, then the plight of the unfortunate individual is indeed desperate. Such was exactly the plight of many upper-class Europeans at the turn of the last century when psychoanalysis had its inception. Their religious illusions had been undermined by the tidal wave of scepticism that swept across the educated classes as the nineteenth century wore on, constituting one of the social contradictions that had then begun to crack the foundations of capitalism. Women especially, because women's subjugated status had not been broken, were largely denied the release of socially approved work. And, of course, the same precondition for neurosis obtained for parasitic males of the leisure class. At the same time the exorbitant exactions of Victorian morality bore down upon upper-class women with a weight of instinctual renunciation previously unknown in history. And their situation was worsened by the fact that their means and the changing habits of upper-class life at the time tended to increase the sexual stasis by an increased stimulation from which the more circumscribed lower classes were still protected. Thus while psychoanalysis was in a sense the creation of Freud's unique personal genius, it was in a more fundamental sense called forth by the need of a social system entering upon its decline; and in precise correspondence with the deepening of that decline, has the subsequent development of psychoanalysis unfolded. From the status of an upper-class luxury, psychoanalysis in its numerous revisions and latter-day denominations is now percolating downward through all class layerings. Its function as *ersatz* religion has greatly extended itself in the general retrogression, just as the anxiety and related neurotic symptoms it was originally devised to alleviate have spread downward and deeper into the social structure, and for exactly the same reasons that first affected the top social layer.

While an earlier and healthier intellectual scepticism is now frequently replaced by an effete cynicism, the guts of religion, nevertheless, are gone for the educated classes, and if intellectuals appear to be flocking back to the churches, it is partly the padded

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statistics of the religious hucksters, and partly because nominal church membership and outward compliance with traditional church forms is an approved method for demonstrating social conformity. Also there is the disconsolate herd seeking fellowship which is not to be found in this competitive and insecure culture. But these things are not religion in any true sense, nor do they constitute an effective therapy against guilt anxiety. Likewise, the healing balm is to a large extent gone out of work which is what Dr. Fromm means when he says that work is no longer creative. As modern developments, including automation, depersonalize the productive process, the meaningful content of more and more jobs disappears entirely. Neurotics can no longer rationalize their drudgery into something important and significant. Work that expends little effort or emotion yields little catharsis. Thus while women have been admitted into business and the professions on close to an equal footing to men, and while for the nonce there are jobs for nearly everyone, work is generally becoming so depersonalized and meaningless, which is to say in the latter instance, non-productive, irrational and even socially destructive, that even those with the greatest masochistic need can find little release in dedication to work duty. Concurrently sexual stasis is mounting, that is to say the dammed-up need for physiological and emotional release of libido, that in pathological excess is recognized in psychoanalytic theory to produce the classic neurotic syndromes and related psychosomatic disorders. The abnormal excess of erotic stimulation in this society over and above wholesome and possible means for release is due to a complex of causes and is a direct expression of deepening social retrogression.

Dr. Fromm writes of a moral "rebellion [that has] developed since the beginning of our century".³⁵ In *The Sane Society* he characterizes this social phenomena as a "sexual revolution", specifically stating that "after the First World War, a sexual revolution took place in which old inhibitions and principles were thrown overboard".³⁶ It is true that old inhibitions and principles were thrown overboard to some extent. But this negative development does not constitute a true "sexual revolution" in any positive sense. It marks no advent into sexual freedom in the sense of establishing free and positive *alternatives* for sexual expression as a release from irrational, unnecessary, and harmful compulsion. More properly called rebellion, what has transpired so far is, in fact, the sexual phase of the general preliminary breakdown that precedes the social transition to an economy of abundance. To the extent that social transformation is held back, sexual *mores* are bound to grow increasingly more chaotic.

35. *Sexual Behavior*, page 305.

36. *Sane Society*, page 101.

The pathogenic excess of stimulation that characterizes this period of moral breakdown is due in part to the tremendous commercial exploitation of sex as a commodity. The emergence of women into industry, business, and the professions, as well as the disappearance of most of the traditional barriers that once separated the sexes, has directly increased stimulation and stasis. The rise of youth as a separate and powerful social faction with its platform of demands, including sexual satisfaction, is another factor. Also there is coming to the front a correlative faction of ageing and elderly persons vastly increased in numbers and demanding more and more of life and life's satisfactions, as the average life span continues to increase. In addition must be figured such factors as greater leisure, a higher level of material consumption, and increased physical mobility. These and numerous other changes all contribute to throw the sexes together without the old restraints, yet without the social preconditions for a new moral synthesis. The result is to raise the pressure of sexual stasis in our society to a nearly unbearable pitch.

The directly resulting guilt-anxiety and neurosis permeate all levels of society, finding expression in alcoholism, violence and crime, mental illness, and psychosomatic sickness. This is not to claim a simple and exclusive sexual etiology for these related aspects of the overall social disorder under a system of artificially maintained scarcity. It is only to insist that the pathogenic effect of sexual malfunction be recognized, and its relation to economic malfunction in capitalist retrogression be opened up to public view. As beneficiaries of the system, at least in a short-run, financial sense, the revisionists and latter-day practitioners of psychoanalysis are uniformly concerned to hide the sexual problem. By one means or another they must deny or conjure out of sight Freud's sexual content. They must do this because the sexual problem always raises the more inclusive social problem. And particularly must they minimize sex³⁷ as an irrelevant issue because sex and economics are so closely coupled in the basic social institution of family and marriage. To deal with family and marriage in any candid way is at once to expose the most glaring and irrational contradictions of the social impasse of our time.

Thus it is that a revisionist of Freud (not to mention Marx), like Dr. Fromm, is obliged to be circumspect. *The Sane Society* intended for mass consumption is less direct than his simultaneously published essay on *Sex and Character* written for the Society of the Study of Social Problems, and certain to reach only a select professional

37. An interesting omission: the index of *The Sane Society* lists no entries under *sex* or *sexual*, although in other respects the index is detailed and rather complete.

audience.³⁸ In this discussion directed to "social scientists" we have already seen how Dr. Fromm under the heading of "Ethical Implications of Sexual Behavior" openly admits a direct causal connection between repressive "sexual taboos" and guilt feelings, specifically stating that, "since every normal being has sexual strivings from childhood on, these very strivings must become an inexhaustible source of guilt feelings if they are stigmatized by the culture as evil". The locus of such "moral condemnation of sexuality" in culture, Dr. Fromm clearly indicates, is religion. And then Dr. Fromm drops the key admission, already noted, that "guilt feelings make a person prone to submit to authorities which want to use and subdue him for their own ends". Oddly this is a point thrown in gratuitously, not being strictly necessary to the argument in hand. It is almost as if Dr. Fromm was under a compulsion to say this, and deeming himself in safe company, permitted himself the indiscretion.

Awareness of the repressive function of institutionalized religion is obviously an asset in writing a work of liberal confusion like *The Sane Society*. It is something that is not mentioned openly, to be sure. Dr. Fromm must walk a tight-rope. On the whole he contrives in this book to write of religion in a way that should put churchmen in an appreciative glow, while at the same time managing to throw a few crumbs to free thinkers. Thus in discussing "Man in Capitalist Society", Dr. Fromm admits "the prevalence of a feeling of guilt", going on to say, "it is indeed amazing that in as fundamentally irreligious a culture as ours, the sense of guilt should be so widespread and deep-rooted as it is".³⁹ It would indeed be amazing if Dr. Fromm were amazed by this. Unable to deny the gross fact of overwhelming mass guilt-anxiety in this society, Dr. Fromm adopts a pose of naiveté in order to obscure the origin of these guilt feelings. His confession of amazement somewhat removes the sting from the implication that guilt-anxiety is a natural outcome of religious belief. Nevertheless the implication is clearly

38. There is a widespread tendency among "social scientists", when obliged to report data derogatory or disturbing to the system, to couch it in professional jargon which safely removes it from the attention of the general reader. The anthropologist Margaret Mead in *Male and Female*, New York, 1949, page 450, advocates this reactionary practice quite brazenly:

"Similarly, the anthropologist who looks at a modern society may see symptoms that are deeply disturbing, and indeed this may be a principal drive towards work. But I believe that such analysis should be reserved for the specialized work of competent professional groups with well-developed ethics of responsibility. . . . We have certainly not reached a stage in social awareness where ordinarily functioning men and women can afford to carry about with them a knowledge of the cultural psychodynamics that unites them with psychopath and criminal. . . . This is one of the most serious criticisms that can be levelled at the way in which the Kinsey report was permitted to become a best-seller."

39. *Sane Society*, page 205.

there, and if it does serve, to be sure, as bait for liberals, it also throws a somewhat sinister light on previous statements by Dr. Fromm, namely, that his "concept of mental health", the same that underlies Humanistic Psychoanalysis, "coincides essentially with the norms postulated by the great spiritual teachers of the human race".⁴⁰

Since "the great spiritual teachers" never pretended to be able to get rid of sin and its painful consequences in this life and this world, it would seem that Humanistic Psychoanalysis is not particularly recommended as therapy for the guilt-ridden. But perhaps it is on another front that Dr. Fromm wishes to identify himself with "the great spiritual teachers of the human race". Writing of the rôle of the Catholic church in the feudal era (to which pre-capitalist Elysium, be it noted, Dr. Fromm frequently harks back with nostalgia), he states "such psychological satisfaction was given to the masses that they accepted their dependency and poverty with resignation, making little effort to improve their social condition".⁴¹

Thus Dr. Fromm in his own words depicts religion, more precisely, institutionalized religion, as performing a socially repressive function of a dual nature. On the one side inspiring a sense of guilt; on the other, partially allaying this pain with "psychological satisfaction". Further, he localizes the origin of at least a considerable part of these guilt feelings in "stigmatized sexuality". When one accepts Dr. Fromm's proposition that "guilt feelings make a person prone to submit to authorities which want to use and subdue him for their own ends", what comes to view is apparently a circulatory, self-maintaining mechanism for social discipline. It would be a social invention of prime utility under conditions of material scarcity where an increase in production entailed more severe renunciations and greater exactions of labor. Religious prohibition stigmatized sex, sex taboos produced guilt, guilt induced submission to authority, both religious and secular, as the required price for partial alleviation, the unresolved residue of guilt-anxiety being sufficient to maintain the original religious, guilt-producing taboos, but not enough to disrupt production.

This formulation might seem comprehensive. It does not, however, take into account the fact, already noted, that work itself, under certain conditions, is as effective as the sacraments in dispelling guilt. Nor does it explain how this guilt-generating device got its original impulse, and how it was apparently so easy for "the great spiritual teachers of the human race" to convince people that sex is bad. This is the part that Dr. Fromm keeps well hidden. This is

40. *Sane Society*, page 69.

41. *Sexual Behavior*, page 305.

what he goes to great pains to deny with his high-flown constructions from philosophical idealism and his elaborate dualisms distilled from "the great teachings of all cultures".⁴² From where we stand to-day it is not easy to keep this part hidden. It is particularly difficult since Freud's discovery of the sexual etiology of neurosis, which is precisely the nub upon which Dr. Fromm's revisionism centers. In fact Dr. Fromm, himself, recognizes this difficulty, but in reverse, so to speak, attempting to make it out to be a difficulty on the part of obtuse or stubborn colleagues. "There is one particular difficulty which many psychiatrists and psychologists have to overcome in order to accept the ideas of *humanistic psychoanalysis*. They still think in the philosophic premises of nineteenth-century materialism which assumed that all important psychic phenomena must be rooted in (and caused by) corresponding *physiological*, somatic processes. Thus Freud, whose basic philosophical orientation was molded by this type of materialism, believed that he had found this physiological substratum of human passion in the 'libido'. In the theory presented here, there is no corresponding *physiological* substrata to the needs for relatedness, transcendence, etc. The substratum is not a physical one . . ."⁴³

This is false, perniciously, and studiously false. The key to the whole thing is that that which Dr. Fromm calls the substratum is exactly *physical* and material. Starting here, the mystery of what activates the socially repressive religious sex-guilt mechanism is soon brought out into the daylight.

It may be categorically asserted that it is possible to stigmatize sex as bad only when it is *felt* to be bad. Such feelings at the root are *physical* feelings. *Actually it is never sex, that is to say sexual satisfaction, that is felt to be bad.* It is rather the somatic suffering induced by the lack of sexual satisfaction. It is at the root the flesh-and-blood distress of the physical organism specifically expressing the disorder of its sexual function, especially that arising from sexual privation.

Freud never claimed credit for having discovered the sexual etiology of neuroses. The idea was suggested, he modestly maintained, by several persons, namely, his teacher Charcot, and his colleagues, Breuer and Chrobak.⁴⁴ But it was Freud's indisputable achievement to have taken this idea out of obscurity and to have built the psychoanalytical movement upon it. Freud's clinical work established beyond all doubt the fact of a gross, physical element of sexual disturbance in all neurosis. Thus was positively demonstrated a

42. *Sane Society*, page 69.

43. *Ibid.*, page 69.

44. "History Of The Psychoanalytical Movement", *The Basic Writings of Sigmund Freud*, Brill translation, Modern Library Edition, page 937.

direct causal link between guilt-anxiety and sexual privation. And it is this causal link, and nothing less, that the latter-day revisionists move heaven and hell to deny.

Revisionists like Dr. Fromm, regardless of their critical pose and socialist make-up, are stalwart supporters of the capitalist system—a system that rewards them well, and affords them scope for their “creative” talents. Dr. Fromm is obliged to deny sexual privation as an effective cause in the admitted current crisis of mental disorder. First, he must deny it, because sexual privation is an expression of material scarcity which cannot be remedied or removed under capitalism. Secondly, because the compulsive marriage-family complex, the basic institution of our capitalist culture, is a relationship historically structured upon sexual privation. Dr. Fromm’s attack on the significance of acculturated sexual privation is two-pronged. On some occasions he denies that there is now any appreciable amount of sexual privation in our society since the accomplishment of the “sexual revolution” in the earlier decades of this century. At other times he denies that sexual satisfaction is a necessary (“primary”) condition for happiness (for “marital happiness”, at least), which is to say actually that sexual privation is inconsequential and in effect no genuine privation at all.⁴⁵

* * *

It may be assumed that in the race’s sub-human stage instinctual satisfactions were occasional, fleeting, and precarious. Pleasure was taken where it was found, without much foresight or hindsight, or with little regard for consequences. While there may have been mating, that is to say more or less permanent pairing relationships between the sexes, there was no marriage. Marriage is a late social relation.

Speculation about primeval conditions is mostly fanciful, and is usually based either upon false analogies with the behavior of other animal species or upon unwarranted inferences drawn from recent observations of “primitive” human groups, the “lowest” of which

45. The “sexual revolution” is frequently mentioned by Dr. Fromm. Do we get a hint of sexual counter-revolution in his rejection of the now nearly universal view that knowledge of “sexual technique” is beneficial to the marriage relation? For what sort of rejection can be derived from Dr. Fromm’s denial “that marital unhappiness can be cured by applying better sexual techniques”? (*Sexual Behavior*, page 307.) Such disparagement of marital sexual technique is reminiscent of orthodox Jewish and early Catholic codes, the former having forbidden nude coitus for some 2,000 years, the latter having held any coital position “except the prone position with the male above as a matter for confession and in days when the church authority was backed by the civil administration, as a matter for punishment”. Pages 366, 370. Kinsey, Pomeroy, Martin, Gebhart, *Sexual Behavior In The Human Female*, Philadelphia, 1953.

are far removed in cultural evolution from the primeval stages. We do know, however, that for ages the human species was few in numbers and widely scattered, probably small wandering bands of food gatherers, and later, hunters. The uniquely long dependency period of the human young, biologically structured, entailed social co-operation. Perhaps the primary social tie was established at the mother's breast. But we have no reason to assume, for instance, that males were bound to females solely by sexual need, and tolerated children only because of the mothers. Rejecting all such tendentious assumptions, it is more reasonable to be content with the lone, indubitable fact that by some measure of social co-operation between the sexes human young were begotten, fed, protected, and educated. And only because of this did the race survive. It is a truism that we are here to-day because from earliest times some humans did find enough to eat, had sex relations, and reared their young.

If we were able to go back far enough, we might reach a stage when as soon as humans were weaned from the breast they ate their food separately as they found it, or fought for it like jackals and hyenas. Certain it is, however, that very early with humans the hunt for food and its consumption began to emerge as a shared activity in which co-operation grew increasingly more important. In seeking the genetic root of human society some might want to give primacy to shared activity in food gathering, others to the co-operative nature of the sex act, and others to the nurturing of children by adults. It were better not to single out any one of these relationships in particular, recognizing that for humans co-operative behavior emerges naturally in all three of these basic activities, and that different co-operative acts are mutually supportive.

In practice these activities were of necessity carried on in close conjunction. But because alimentative need under conditions of primeval scarcity was first and last the most tyrannical, the procurement of food must have absorbed the larger share of human attention and effort, setting the frame within which all human activity was carried on. At first sex pleasure must have come as casually as the spring sunshine or the ripened fruit of autumn. And in practice the nurture of children, when they appeared, was, as the derivation of the word, nurture, indicates, mainly the feeding of them.

The original tyrant is the empty belly. The compulsion to fill it has forced the development of human life up through the ages, and has finally brought the race to where it stands to-day on the verge of abundance and freedom. To secure its existence the race has not only brought forth superb powers of inventive intelligence unequalled by the other species, but it has disciplined itself with unique and merciless rigor. Up to now every established social institution, whatever else it may be in addition, is to some degree an instrument

of compulsive discipline, serving to bind humans to the wheel of labor. This compulsive function is particularly oppressive in the interwoven complex of social relations that in our culture is variously designated, at different times and for different reasons, according to its several parts, that is to say as *marriage*, the *family*, or the *home*.

We cannot here unravel all the various threads of this intricate social fabric, nor follow back their windings through social evolution. It is mainly the disciplinary function of the home that requires analysis here. We have noted that its involved and highly developed compulsive pressures serve to subdue humans to productive effort. The hard exactions of material want have structured the home. The price of its protection is high and cruelly exacted.

Home includes both marriage and family and considerably more besides. Everyone knows that a home is what we are born into and where we live until we outgrow it and leave it to make a home of our own, that is, in conjunction with a mate of the opposite sex. If to *marriage* is assigned a meaning roughly comprising the specific, socially-licensed sex relations between man and wife, and to *family* the broader relations involving children, what remains is the material means and context of these two classes of relations, secured through labor. The contemporary compulsive complex of sex relations, child-rearing relations, and work relations derives from the simple primeval prototypes of cave or campfire, except that in the course of social evolution, sex and child-rearing have been increasingly subordinated to the requirements of production. It is precisely this subordination of human relations to work relations that is now obsolescent. More than that, with the age-old goal of material abundance finally within reach, it is the dead weight of institutionalized work discipline structured under material scarcity, that more than anything else holds back the impending Utopia of universal plenty.

We have already considered the mechanism whereby through sexual privation human tractability to work is augmented and anchored. We have seen how sex privation is converted *physiologically*, as well as *psychologically*, to anxiety and guilt-feelings and finally, submissiveness. We have taken cognizance of the religious device whereby a supply of guilt-feelings are continually generated, while at the same time any socially dangerous excess is drained off in ritual. Thus marriage, as institutionalized sexual privation is made compulsive under secular law, and as a religious sacrament is invested with sacred sanctions.

But compulsive marriage involves only one phase of the general sexual privation exacted according to the requirements of production in an economy of scarcity. In some "backward" cultures, where the productive drive was minimal because of the exceptional natural bounty of the environment, children were sometimes permitted nearly

unrestricted latitude of sexual expression. In contrast in nineteenth-century Europe when the capitalist productive machine was attaining top speed, and before it had begun to break down seriously, the suppression of the child's natural sexuality was carried to an incredible extent, and it was thus forgotten for a time that children were sexual beings. Freud's rediscovery of infant sexuality at the beginning of this century was an accomplishment of genius, notwithstanding that this discovery had been placed on the order of the day by the incipient breakdown of the capitalist cultural mechanism and its entire repressive structure.

The recrudescence of sex and sex-right is in part a reaction against extraordinarily severe instinctual repression and in part adumbration of an emergent era of material abundance in which restrictions upon free expression of natural sexuality will have no economic utility nor social reason of any sort. As soon as we shall have passed over into abundance and shall have assured to every child born, as his inalienable birthright, free, unrestricted, lifelong access to any and all material means for a good, full life as he may want to live it, the character of education will change completely. And so will the character of marriage. In dissolving the primary compulsion which is the age-old compulsion of material scarcity, there will be dissolved with it, and rendered socially baseless, all secondary compulsions. When all compulsion disappears out of marriage, and sexual relations, for the first time in history, become the free acts of free agents, then and only then shall we finally know to what extent monogamy is a condition for human happiness. Also when that time arrives the question shall have largely lost significance.

But now every teacher, preacher, social scientist, and politician with an eye to the main chance rises to the defense of monogamy, that is, more precisely, to the defense of the compulsive content of monogamy in this society. It is both a creed and a pledge of allegiance. It is absolutely safe and appropriate on all occasions to deplore the rising incidence of divorce, which every half-way conscious person understands, though he may not admit it, as a direct expression of rebellion against the constrictive misery of the system.

The sexual "rebellion" which Dr. Fromm cannot deny, is well advanced. Not only does it find expression in mounting divorce, but the so-called "juvenile delinquency" is in part the revolt of youth against the incredible restrictions officially maintained by our society against adolescent sexuality. This is a revolt against the ancient sexual discipline of the home which has long enforced sexual privation upon the young in order to inure them to a life of privation in an economy of scarcity, and to ensure submissiveness to work and duty. The shame and tragedy of so-called "juvenile delinquency" is the manner in which our best and most vital youth are broken

and wasted because they will not tamely submit to irrational and inhuman requirements of a moribund culture.

Kinsey found that 85 per cent of male youth as well as 95 per cent of the male population in general are sometime sex offenders liable to imprisonment under our repressive legal code. And the report holds up for consideration the theoretical absurdity of 5 per cent of the population maintaining 95 per cent in jail as sex criminals. "Sex crime" is a basic contradiction of the system. All law, that is to say the entire repressive legal structure, economic, as well as applying scientifically to sexual behavior, is undermined by this contradiction. From this fact issues much of the incentive of the shorers and patchers of the system who are now starting to busy themselves with projects for liberalizing the sex law. But only superficial reforms are possible in an economy of scarcity. Sex and economics are far too closely intertwined. And any honest and reasonable attempt to cure the sexual problem flies straight as an arrow to the heart of the social question.⁴⁶

To avoid the sexual problem, to deny it, to cover it up, to confuse it, to belittle it—all these amount in effect to defense of the system. Certainly it is often not a conscious defense. In the case of Dr. Fromm, however, taking into account his intellectual grasp of social theory and his background in social movements, it is a surety that his efforts to obscure the sexual question are both consciously and cynically undertaken.

Dr. Fromm has earned himself great credit in some quarters by putting himself forward as a critic and revisionist of Freud. He never neglects an opportunity to belittle and besmirch Freud's reputation by attributing to Freud a crude obsession with sex. It is Dr. Fromm who is obsessed with sex. He is obsessed with getting it out of sight, hiding it, covering it up, as a dog scratches over filth, yet always returning to sniff. Such is particularly the case in *The Sane Society*.

What Dr. Fromm does with incest in this book is a direct case in point. The incest taboo carries heavy emotional freight. The ancient and nearly universal incest prohibition seems naturally invested with revulsion and horror. That this powerful aversion is culturally acquired may be explained easily, nor is any resort to theories of instinctive abhorrence required. While we shall never know the exact steps by which the incest taboo arose in primeval culture, it is obvious how and why it came about. The incest prohibition would be an effective social device for repressing sexuality in the service of economic productivity, especially in primeval family groups. It is

46. This was the theory and practice of the American experiment in communism undertaken more than 100 years ago in the Oneida Community. See John Humphrey Noyes, *History Of American Socialisms*, Philadelphia, 1870.

not necessary to attribute conscious design. A cultural mutant that proved superior for survival is sufficient explanation. But instead of accounting for incest rationally, Dr. Fromm goes about making a mystery more mysterious.

He turns the incest concept inside out and proceeds to remove its specific sexual content, retaining however, its horrid connotations for application to another order of experience. In constructing his incest symbol, Dr. Fromm narrows incest to a child-mother relationship, that is a one-way relationship of forbidden attachment, or "fixation", of child to mother. Thus: "the incestuous desire has its strength not from sexual attraction to the mother, but from the deep-seated craving to remain in, or return to the all-enveloping womb, or to the all-nourishing breasts".⁴⁷ Issuing from this generic fixation to the mother, Dr. Fromm discovers incestuous fixations to nature, to blood and soil, to race and nation. "Nationalism is our form of incest",⁴⁸ he declares. Thus Dr. Fromm desexualizes incest and attaches its stigma to "a new idolatry of blood and soil, of which nationalism and racism are the two most evident expressions",⁴⁹ in three words, "Fascism, Nazism and Stalinism", "the new totalitarianism".

The identification of fascism with incest may afford emotional release for some, but not much political enlightenment. There is a decided flavor of demagoguery about this characterization that is hard to stomach for those who genuinely abhor "nationalism" and the "new totalitarianism". Dr. Fromm's list of "incestuous"-isms is by no means inclusive, and further to protect his meaning from any embarrassing un-American imputations, several escape clauses have been worked into his general condemnation of "nationalism". "Undoubtedly, a lack of concern for one's own country is an expression of a lack of social responsibility and of human solidarity . . ."⁵⁰ While this might not be forthright enough to satisfy the American Legion, statements of this nature should be amply reassuring to more liberal patriots.

Returning to the special meaning that Dr. Fromm gives to *incest*: that it is a pathological inability to grow up, to abandon out-worn situations of security that are secure no longer, to accept necessary change. Surely this is a drastic revision of established terminology. But going along, here, with Dr. Fromm, nevertheless, no better example of this sort of incestuous fixation could be found than that offered by Dr. Fromm, himself. For when the resolution of human

47. *Sane Society*, page 40

48. *Ibid.*, page 58.

49. *Ibid.*, page 57.

50. *Ibid.*, page 60.

ills, and, in fact, the very existence of humanity itself, depends upon speedy passage into a world economy of abundance, Dr. Fromm, on all practical issues, stands committed to the outworn scarcity system.

Dr. Fromm's masquerade as a socialist should not mislead any reader whose memory and comprehension extends as far as from one page to the next. *The Sane Society* takes capitalism to task in a manner that will afford vicarious release to "alienated" intellectuals. But it is mostly philosophical shadow-boxing that does not reach the vitals of the system. In his own shrewd way Dr. Fromm is frequently the defender of what he appears to denounce. And his defense is the more insidious because it seems daringly critical to those who credulously interpret his generalized indictment in terms of their own concrete grievances. Thus Dr. Fromm gathers and seduces an audience, and then leads them off into a maze of dualistic abstraction and ethical duplicity.

A fellow professor, but an adherent of an opposed school of philosophy, has recently taken Dr. Fromm's measure neatly, but rather too politely. "This ambiguity makes the revisionist philosophy [of Dr. Fromm] appear to be critical where it is conformist, political where it is moralistic . . . this philosophy is achieved by directing criticism against surface phenomena, while accepting the basic premises of the criticized society . . . The character of the revisionist philosophy shows forth in the assimilation of the positive and the negative, the promise and the betrayal. The affirmation absorbs the critique. The reader may be left with the conviction that the 'higher values' can and should be practised within the very conditions which betray them . . ."⁵¹

Just as likely the reader discovers a way to divorce the "higher values" from practice entirely, which at the bottom is the *practical* aim of the dualistic ethics of philosophical idealism. And this separation of theory and practice, it happens, is the essence of "alienation". So Dr. Fromm who states that "alienation" is the deepest symptom of social insanity reveals himself as a purveyor of "alienation". *The Sane Society* which purports to be a critique of our society in terms of alienation, reveals gross alienation in its failure to grasp social reality. For example, Dr. Fromm would have us believe that economic security has been largely attained in our society, so that now we have mainly to concern ourselves with attaining "psychic security". As if *psychic insecurity* were something other than a direct reflection of prevailing *economic insecurity*! In January, 1957, a survey sponsored by the Twentieth-Century Fund

51. Herbert Marcuse, *Eros and Civilization*, New York, 1955, pages 259, 261.

revealed that nearly three-fourths of the men and women in the United States over 65 years old have either no income, or incomes less than \$1,000 per year. Instead of taking cognizance of facts like these, Dr. Fromm with the most vapid insouciance proposes that: "The psychic task which a person can and must set for himself, is not to feel secure, but to be able to tolerate insecurity, without panic and undue fear".⁵² Such callous and impertinent alienation were incredible did it not appear in print.

With the immediate transition to an economy of abundance the urgent issue of the day, and the possibility of an overnight transformation of industry by automation within grasp, and, in fact, well under way, Dr. Fromm is so alienated in factual information and social insight, that it appears to him that "it will still be many generations before such a point of automatization and reduction of working time is reached . . ."⁵³ Indeed, he estimates the time required to be a "few hundred years". And what is to transpire in the meantime? Dr. Fromm toys with a vague proposal which he gives the high-sounding name of "Humanistic Communitarian Socialism".

Can Dr. Fromm expect to be taken seriously, when he himself is not serious. How casually he whips up his mess of Communitarianism. This frothy dish is mostly concocted second-hand out of Claire Huchet Bishop's *All Things Common* from which Dr. Fromm abstracts an extensive and probably already obsolete description of a French co-operative watch-case factory. "Communities of work", like Boimondau, are apparently Dr. Fromm's alternative to the insanity of retrograde capitalism, which Dr. Fromm, in some of its superficial manifestations, it is true, recognizes and aptly describes. Quite typically, there is no evidence that Dr. Fromm ever took the trouble to investigate work communities first hand, or ever lived in them, or has the slightest intention of participating personally in the community-of-work movement.

In his chapter on "Sex and Character" Dr. Fromm opines that "because ethics was narrowed down to the small area of sexual behavior . . . the really significant ethical problems in human behavior were veiled",⁵⁴ these being "hate, envy, and ambition", also "lust for power", and the like. The causal relationship stated here is false and misleading. In this society all important ethical problems, including sexual problems, are veiled, and for the most practical of practical reasons. In fact "ethics" is precisely the veil that is employed to cover up and to disguise the inevitably horrible

52. *Sane Society*, page 196.

53. *Ibid.*, page 288.

54. *Sexual Behavior*, page 305.

features of human relations under conditions of scarcity and class exploitation. "Ethics" in practice turns out to be a fabric of hypocrisy and rationalization. As there is no real cure under capitalism for "hate, envy, and ambition" or "lust for power"; the practitioners of "ethics" hide their impotence with floods of cheap moralizing. By this means the moralists seek ever to divert socially disturbing emotions away from their rational objects and to turn them back upon their source of origin.

Under our accustomed and accepted forms of human mass-sacrifice, whereby untold numbers are continually degraded, maimed, poisoned, and destroyed, it is only natural for individuals to seek to climb out of the pit⁵⁵ and to escape from the common misery by any means whatsoever. And as inevitably, those who are pushed back or are in danger of being pulled down, condemn the efforts and desperation of others as "ambition" or "lust for power". Also those who cannot escape, or who fall back into the pit by the same token are bound to "hate" and to "envy" those above them.

Thus only with the advent of abundance, when the pit is finally and eternally abolished, can the "ethical" problems generated under scarcity be solved. And when these problems dissolve, "ethics", that is to say, systems of ethical dissimulation and compulsion, will also vanish. When Dr. Fromm calls, as he finally does at one point, for a "re-evaluation of the moral aspects of sex",⁵⁶ the meaning should be plain. At once an admission that the old compulsions are slipping, it is also a bid to anchor them anew. His proffer is not impressive. So once, another standing by the ocean undertook to persuade the waves to roll back.

It was by no random, vulgar accident that morality, heretofore, has been identified in popular thinking largely with restrictions upon sexual behavior. Very early in cultural evolution, and under the compulsion of primeval scarcity, sexual restriction became one of the principal elements of social discipline. Human survival depended upon that discipline. Scarcity enforced a restrictive morality. Moral discipline now solidified into an autonomous, self-perpetuating system of social constriction currently threatens human survival. The much publicized and deplored "breakdown" in sexual morality, far from

55. The *pit* is no far-fetched symbol. Since trench warfare in World War I turned the European battle area into one vast hell-pit, reality has increasingly tended to reproduce this symbol in the capitalist retrogression. Examples include the police cellars of the Russians and their death ditches into which hundreds and thousands were driven to be shot and buried as they fell; the extermination basements of the Nazis and their underground furnaces for human incineration to the extent of millions of souls; and finally the instantaneous transformation of two Japanese cities into flaming infernos by American atomic bombs.

56. *Sexual Behavior*, page 307.

being a manifestation of decay and decadence is actually in large extent and in general direction a progressive development. However crude, uneven, and seemingly irresponsible, the "sexual rebellion" constitutes a break through of vital force that refuses to be bound by a strangled culture. With the advent of material abundance and the consequent liberation of human desire, the despised flesh will come into its own; humans will achieve an innocence and freedom yearned for but never known; and sex will become pure and an end in itself as it ceases to be exploited as a *means* for anchoring economic restriction.

E. I. Pye

PSYCHOLOGY AND SOCIETY

*Comments on the views of
Clarkson and Fromm*

Clarkson's critique of Fromm's views is based on what he calls Fromm's "persistent efforts to desexualise" Freud's ideas. According to Clarkson, the present-day widespread "sexual misery" reflects the deep-seated social crisis of our time. Thus, the sexual question must be kept out of sight, and Fromm is only playing his part in preserving the *status quo* when he minimizes sexual factors. But, implies Clarkson, Fromm knows more than he is willing to tell. In an essay intended for professional "social scientists", Fromm permits himself an "indiscretion". This "indiscretion" is Fromm's remark, in passing, that:

Guilt feelings make a person prone to submit to authorities which want to use and subdue him for their own ends.

Clarkson calls this formulation an "acute insight", and proceeds to base on it a social theory which might be called "sexual determinism". He rapidly provides explanations for many "mysteries": the relationship between sexual repression and capitalism, the special rôle of religion, and even the details of the development of the psychoanalytic movement. However, Clarkson's constructions fail to hold up even under the most superficial scrutiny. And, as we shall see, Clarkson fails utterly to see the real point of Fromm's "desexualized" psychoanalysis.

Clarkson proposes to make use of Fromm's statement connecting

"guilt feelings" with submission to authority. But how does he justify the statement itself? What evidence does he marshal in its favor? Why, none whatsoever! (Unless, of course, we are to consider Fromm's bald assertion as constituting evidence in its favor.) In fact, a little investigation of psychoanalytic case histories is enough to throw considerable doubt on the proposition. Sexual guilt can have the most varied results, ranging from actual physical symptoms (this is the condition known as hysteria), through a whole spectrum of neurotic and psychotic conditions. On this basis, how can one conclude that feelings of guilt will lead to submission to authority?

Of course, there is another possibility. It might have turned out that the connection between sexual guilt and submission to authority would have proved to be so successful in explaining so much that had hitherto been mysterious, that we should have been compelled to accept it, at least as a working hypothesis. What then does Clarkson seek to explain with the aid of his hypothesis? In the first place, there is the simple fact that men do "submit" to "authority". Clarkson is, in effect, claiming that this phenomenon has just not been understood before, and that his hypothesis clears the matter up. But as has long been perfectly clear, men submit to authority simply because they are forced to do so. The birth of civilization in fertile river valleys thousands of years ago was the result of the availability for the first time of a social surplus. That is, the labor of the great mass of the populace produced not only enough for their own minimum subsistence, but also enough for at least a small minority to live under conditions of relative opulence. The surplus could be appropriated only by coercion. And so it was, at the dawn of history, that a special apparatus developed to maintain property relations, that is, to preserve the special position of the exploiting classes. This apparatus has been with us ever since, in one form or another. It is, of course, the State. And, the functioning of the State has always been inseparable from its police whose principal rôle has always been that of protecting property rights, that is of maintaining the inequalities which constitute class society. Why do men submit to this authority? Because they know that if they did not they would be jailed, enslaved, tortured, crucified, decapitated, poisoned, hanged, or shot—by the State. In fact what really proves the emptiness of Clarkson's contention is just the need to maintain this force. If in order to make people submit, it sufficed to make them feel guilty, why not dispense with a police force?

But, asks Clarkson, what of the "hitherto unexplained stigmatization of sex and sexual satisfaction as bad by most cultures at a certain stage of economic development . . .". This "stigmatization" is hitherto unexplained only because it does not

exist. The ancient world was virtually free of stigmatisation of sex as such as can be seen by examining the folklore and literature of the time. For the idea that sex itself is evil and at best (under marriage) tolerable, we are indebted to Christianity, which came on the scene only after people had been submitting to authority for thousands of years. Of course, to say that sex was not characterized as evil is not to say that sexual freedom, or anything like it, prevailed. With the development of private property, women themselves became property. A poor man was prevented from enjoying the king's concubines just as he was prevented from eating at the king's table, drinking the king's wine or living in the king's palace. This was not because eating good food, drinking fine wine, living in palaces, or copulating with concubines was thought to be wicked, but only because the articles in question were the king's property and hence were for the king's exclusive use.

Thus, we have seen that Clarkson uses his sexual hypothesis to explain what is really explicable on purely socio-economic grounds and to explain what was "hitherto unexplained" because false. Clarkson continues with an analysis of religion in the light of his hypothesis. "Why", queries Clarkson, "is it that religious superstition and practice is so invariably identified with the regulation of sexual expression in cultures developed under the pinch of scarcity?" Religions have always served the social rôle of ritualizing the "rules" of society. Thus, religious codes set forth not only rules of sexual conduct, but rules governing property (Thou shalt not steal!), rules governing conduct in war, etc. Religion is no more associated with the *regulation* of sexual expression than with the other fundamental aspects of life. In particular, as has already been remarked, the rôle of religion in stigmatizing sex, is a special product of Christianity. Actually religions, particularly in the ancient world, have promulgated the most diverse views on sexual matters. There have been orgiastic religions and religions putting a premium on chastity. There have been vestal virgins and whore priestesses. Clarkson's analysis of religion is no more successful than his analysis of why there is submission to authority.

Clarkson's final, and most fanciful, application of his hypothesis is to the development of psychoanalysis. Clarkson states:

It is of greatest significance to understand fully why Freud's patients, particularly at the beginning, were predominantly of upper-class origin, and mainly upper-class women. That only persons of means, not to say wealth, could afford analytic treatment is not sufficient reason. This is no reason why persons, and the particular class of persons involved, would require treatment, and would be impelled to make the substantial expenditure of money and effort required for analysis. No, this reason will not suffice, and it is necessary to go much deeper.

Here, once again Clarkson searches for a deep explanation where a simple one is available. In this case, he presents the simpler explanation himself and rejects it. That only the wealthy could afford psychoanalysis "is not sufficient reason". But, why not? An hysterical¹ upper-class woman, in being referred from specialist to specialist, might eventually find herself in Freud's office. An hysterical servant girl would go to the clinic and be given some pain killer. All one needs for comprehension of the total insulation of Freud's own world from the poorer classes is to read some of his references (e.g., in his letters to Fliess) to the servant classes. Why mainly women? Because most of Freud's early patients were hysterics and most hysterics are women. (This is for reasons which become obvious from Freud's analysis of the specific rôle of sexual repression in hysteria.) Once again, Clarkson's constructions collapse, virtually of their own weight.

Yet Clarkson is certainly correct when he accuses Fromm of "persistent efforts to desexualize psychoanalysis". Before we consider the actual rôle of Fromm's emasculation of Freud, it will be worth our while to consider briefly the specific content of some of Freud's basic discoveries. As has already been stated, Freud began by investigating certain physical symptoms which turned out to be psychically generated. He based himself on Breuer's remarkable discovery that under suitable circumstances, the vivid recollection under hypnosis of an emotionally charged event could cause a physical symptom to disappear. At first using hypnosis, and gradually shifting to his own technique of free association, Freud found that hysterical symptoms (and for that matter all other neurotic manifestations) had their origin in sexual disturbances. For example, in every hysteric examined, Freud found the memory of a sexual assault or seduction during childhood. (At first, Freud believed that these memories were real, and that such an assault or seduction was always the cause of hysteria in later life. It soon became clear that this notion was untenable, and that the memories were phantasies on the patient's part.) These sexual disturbances were found to have their origin in early childhood. And here, Freud discovered that all small children have a sexual life which is centered about their parents. This is, of course, what has been so aptly named the Oedipus situation and which plays such a central rôle in Freud's theories. On the basis of the little boy's sexual passion directed at his mother, and consequent hostility for his father (and similar, but reversed, feelings on a little girl's part), Freud was able to construct a picture of the kind of human character which can be expected to be developed by the

1. "Hysterical" is, of course, used in the technical sense, referring to a specific mental disorder giving rise to physical symptoms.

patriarchal family in general, and the bourgeois family in particular. This achievement (brilliantly anticipated in Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex*, Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, and Diderot's *Rameau's Nephew*) must rank as one of the great triumphs of the human intellect.

Unfortunately (as was practically inevitable given the social consciousness that was a concomitant of his background) Freud never had a clear idea of the social significance of what he had done. The basic part of Freud's early theories have the most radical social consequences. The syllogism is as follows: *If bourgeois conditions produce the bourgeois family, and if the bourgeois family regularly produces the crippling emotional effect found by Freud, then a rational human life can only be had by eliminating bourgeois conditions!* But Freud was never able to draw these conclusions. Instead, he permitted himself to succumb to the temptation of extending his results far beyond their inherent limitations. He began by making the assumption that the Oedipus situation which he had found in his patients was a basic part of human nature instead of a result of specific social conditions. (Thus, his abortive efforts to ground the Oedipus situation in human biology, e.g., on the female's lack of a penis.) In his *Totem and Taboo*, he tried to explain the varied social habits in certain primitive cultures by assuming without any justification that the same Oedipus situation held there. But Freud's most fantastic constructions were in his later works, *Civilisation and its Discontents* and *Moses and Monotheism*. Here, Freud produced elaborate, and at times ingenious, constructions in order to explain on purely psychological grounds the black events of the twentieth century. Freud tried to explain the growing barbarism about him (the First World War, the rise of totalitarianism, etc.) on the basis of inherent human characteristics. Thus, Freud perverted the social content of his own theories. Instead of the radical syllogism stated above, we have the reactionary syllogism: *If human biology produces crippling emotional effects, and if these crippling effects lead men to war and barbarism, then no political action can eliminate war and barbarism.* It is the atomization of knowledge in our time which permits a man (such as Freud or Einstein or others who could be named) to produce works of genius in his own domain while he shows himself to be ignorant of even the fundamentals as soon as he leaves it. But we should not leave the matter with this general observation. *Freud is guilty of a basic methodological error. And, this same error is committed by Clarkson and by Fromm.* As pointed out by Lunen (in the case of Fromm) they violate Occam's principle, that hypotheses must not be multiplied unnecessarily.² As Lunen puts it, they "feel the need for

2. Wilhelm Lunen, "The Problem of Social Consciousness in our Time", *Contemporary Issues*, No. 31.

a 'psychological' explanation *besides* the economic one . . .". Thus, wars, as was shown by Marx, are the result of social forces inherent in capitalist society. The various special features of capitalism which have characterized our own time, e.g., concentration and monopoly, merging of the State with industry, totalitarianism, are likewise explicable in terms of basic socio-economic forces. Any attempt to explain these phenomena all over again on psychological grounds, that is, on the basis of an analysis of human character, not only violates the principle of Occam's razor, but also ignores the essential fact that the phenomena involved are all implied by the capitalist mode of production and are, therefore, independent of any additional assumptions concerning human character.

Thus, Lunen is quite correct (in the article cited above) in attacking the efforts of Freud or Fromm to create a psychological sociology. But, he is just as mistaken as they, when he proposes a "social" psychology, for which "the whole skeleton and all of the basic material" is to be found in the work of Marx. According to Lunen, "the leading thoughts of Marx's 'psychology' (including the *behavior of the mind*)" (italics added) are as follows:

In capitalist society thinking becomes ideology because it is determined by the antagonistic production-relations of this society. The fetish character of commodities (to be dealt with later) veils and mystifies the essence of phenomena—the fundamental relations are not transparent and the particular form of the capitalist mode of production creates the permanent appearance which reflects our entire existence inverted and transposed. In consequence, being bound to the bourgeoisie or to the mere way of bourgeois thinking means to have a false consciousness (identical with ideology) and a perverted consciousness.

Now, one may note with approval that Lunen includes "the behavior of the mind" in what he calls Marx's "psychology", since psychology is certainly concerned with the behaviour (or better with the properties) of the human mind, just as biology is concerned with the behavior of living things generally, sociology is concerned with the properties of human societies, etc. But, when it becomes clear that what Lunen intends as the proper subject matter of psychology is the study of a socially engendered false consciousness, we see that Lunen's version of what he calls Marx's psychology amounts to a proposal to jettison psychology as a serious scientific discipline.

It would hardly be worth while to object to including the study of socially engendered false consciousness as a legitimate *part* of psychology, since the boundary lines between the various sciences are in any case quite fluid. (It is, however, true that including false consciousness among psychological phenomena seems pointless, unless one believes that it can be explained using the techniques

which help in elucidating individual psychological behavior. But, this is precisely the error which Lunen has found in Fromm.) Nor, is it objectionable, in itself, to maintain that the psychological formulations of one or another psychologist are wholly or in part erroneous (as Lunen does elsewhere in referring to Freud's work as: "rubbish"). But, regardless of what one may think of the answers to various psychological questions given by Freud or others, one must recognize the questions themselves as legitimate. For the most part, these questions have to do not with the behavior of people in masses but as individuals, not with the major social forces acting on everyone but with the psychological forces which determine how individuals develop within the superimposed social framework. If Lunen is serious in maintaining that Marx's *Capital* contains that skeleton of a new theory of psychology, he must indicate how these formulations can be employed in dealing with the questions that have traditionally occupied psychology. This, it can be safely predicted, he will not do (since it cannot be done). To summarize: It is just as mistaken to seek a purely social explanation for a psychological problem as to seek a psychological explanation for a social problem.

Our criticism of Clarkson was in part based on the fact that he too looked for "psychological explanation" where a social one was already available. In Fromm, we find Freud's psychological sociology carried to its logical extreme which results in the complete elimination of Freud's real psychological discoveries. Fromm continues Freud's analysis of modern barbarism. But his use of psychological categories to explain social phenomena is carried to an extreme which Freud could hardly have imagined. Freud's own constructions, no matter how strained and ingenious, were not sufficient for Fromm's needs. For, Freud's analyses were always tied, at least peripherally, to his real psychological discoveries, and, therefore, always reflected at least a portion of social reality. Such a restriction would have acted as a fetter on Fromm's splendid imagination. Fromm frees himself of this fetter by eliminating all specific content (in particular all sexuality!) from Freud's theories. Thus, Fromm could hardly equate fascism with incest so long as incest meant having sexual intercourse with a close relative. But when it means, the inability to "love the stranger", then Fromm can stretch the concept to include fascism, or anything else he pleases. Similarly, when neurotic behaviour is understood to be the result of a disturbance in the sexual function, and when this disturbance is seen to be social in origin, then it must be concluded (in spite of the fact that Freud himself never came to this conclusion) that the way to reduce or eliminate neurotic behaviour is to change the structure of society. But when Fromm (claiming all the while to be in the psychoanalytic tradition) interprets neurotic behaviour as the result of man's struggle to solve

the spiritual problem of man's existence on earth, then *man's social difficulties appear as the result* (instead of the cause) of his *psychological difficulties*. The social problems of our time then become reduced to the psychological problem: How can man's nature be altered? The force of this conclusion is not diminished one whit by the fact that Fromm insists that he wishes to alter all factors simultaneously: "... sanity and mental health can be attained only by simultaneous change in the sphere of industrial and political organisation, of spiritual and philosophical orientation, of character structure, and of cultural activities". For, what real meaning does working for such "simultaneous changes" have? What does Fromm propose that people do after reading his book? Presumably everyone is first to be convinced that Fromm's views are correct, and then appoint a date, let us say next 14th July, for "simultaneous changes". The trumpet will sound and everywhere spiritual orientation, character structure and political organization will change "simultaneously". What nonsense! Now the real function of a "desexualised" psychoanalysis becomes clear. It provides Fromm with an instrument which can be used to blur all distinctions, which can be made to seem to call for a new and "sane" society, and yet really call for inaction.

Some of the features which Fromm proposes for a "sane" society are reasonable enough: decentralization, a return to direct democracy in small communities, direct control of production by the producers and the members of the community, etc. But the meagre and confused social insights which Fromm brings to bear on his subject prevent him from giving the least indication of how these changes are to be brought about. Except for vague and meaningless generalities about "simultaneous changes", Fromm's only concrete suggestions "on the basis of present-day conditions" are that workers systematically gain control of their corporations by purchasing stock, or that labour unions gain control over corporations by buying stock. The first suggestion is, of course, totally impossible; as for the second, if a union controlled a corporation, it would take over the economic goals inherent in such controls. This situation is an actuality in Israel where most industry is under the control of the Histadrut, the labor union. As a result, the Histadrut has been known to ask the workers to accept what amounts to a reduction in pay!

The decisive factor which makes a "sane" society possible to-day, where it was not in the past, is that it has become possible for the first time in history to produce enough goods to provide everyone in the world with a reasonable subsistence, while reducing no one's living standard. The fact of plenty shows itself, under capitalism, in the forms of economic and political strains. The result is the

bizarre world we know so well. While people starve in one part of the world, elsewhere food is stored at enormous expense until it rots. Any new industrial development must be controlled or prevented lest dangerous competition enter the precariously balanced world market. Tens of billions of dollars in armaments must be produced each year to prevent economic collapse. An atmosphere of tension and crisis must be artificially maintained. When the United States and Russia each have the potential to destroy all humanity, the leaders of each talk of "improving" nuclear weapons and meanwhile continue to bombard the world at "peace" with a deadly rain of fallout. Paradoxically, it is these very political and economic tensions which point to the way out. For they will get worse! Greater and greater expenditures for arms will become necessary. Russia will find it more and more difficult to keep her empire under control. Western Europe will seek to free itself from economic bondage to America. Colonial peoples everywhere will revolt. And, these increasing strains on the political and economic structure of society will reflect themselves in increasing pressure on people everywhere. Eventually, if total destruction does not intervene, the folly inherent in ever more contrived, ridiculous, and painful methods of dealing with the world's problems, will become clearly visible in everyone's daily life. And then, the alternative of making the abundance available to all will become clearly visible as an immediate political goal. When this goal has been attained men will be free for the first time to use *all human insights and knowledge* concerning man and nature in creating a "sane" and rational social order.

Paul Ecker

HUNGARY: Prelude to Revolt

To Matyas Rakosi, striving mightily to undo the damage done by Imre Nagy's "soft" policy, the sudden turn of the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U. early in 1956 came as a terrible jolt. The First Secretary, who had shone for 20 years with Stalin's reflected light, was not to survive the sun's eclipse for six months.

A bureaucrat born and bred, Rakosi was typical of the men whom Stalin raised to leadership in the Communist parties of the world. He stood beside Thorez of France, Dimitrov of Bulgaria, Thaelmann of Germany, Togliatti of Italy and a host of lesser luminaries, raised from political obscurity by Stalin for the virtues they held in

common—lack of theoretical understanding, an easy integrity, the ability to submerge human feeling, willingness to submit without cavil and aptitude at applying within their realms the harshness of the master in his. They advanced to power over the corpses—political and physical—of those on whose compliance Stalin felt he could not rely. Rakosi's rise to eminence in the Hungarian Communist party was at the expense of Bela Kun, leader of the short-lived Hungarian Soviet government of 1919, who vanished in the great purge that swept Russian and foreign Communists alike during the 1930's. Kun's downfall was signified by his literary as well as physical disappearance; his name was all but expunged from the Stalinist history books, and, as if by unspoken understanding, there was none to do him honor.

Thus, when on 21st February, 1956, *Pravda* broke a 20-year silence with an article, "The Seventieth Anniversary of the Birth of Bela Kun", by E. Varga, the significance was not lost on Rakosi. Kun's ghost was being raised against him.

The reason was not far to seek. Ten years of Rakosi's Stalinist inflexibility and harshness were turning Hungary into a bubbling cauldron of discontent, which Nagy's "new course" and Rakosi's fumbling attempts to reverse it had only aggravated. Already on 4th October, 1955, *Szabad Ifjusag*, organ of the government-sponsored Youth League (D.I.S.Z.) was complaining that "alarming attitudes were prevalent among the nation's youth", as evidenced by the failure of 50 per cent of the students at the Budapest College of Liberal Arts to attend the mandatory courses in Marxism and by publicly voiced "under-estimation of the results of the building efforts of the past ten years" (understatement is one of the most charming aspects of Stalinist writing). By 7th January, 1956, the situation among the youth had become so acute that *Szabad Ifjusag* was now speaking of "hostile elements" responsible for "open provocations and posters and leaflets slandering the party and government". Ferment was not confined to the students. Both workers and peasants were engaged in a stubborn slow-down in protest against Rakosi's renewed attempt to rape the Hungarian economy.

Thus the rehabilitation of Bela Kun, like that of the Polish United Workers Party which Stalin had dissolved in 1938, was not so much a matter of historic justice as of masked politics. For men who had helped erect dishonesty, deviousness, double-dealing and behind-the-scenes manoeuvring into a political system, it was the clearest way of announcing that those who had usurped their inheritance were to enjoy its fruits little longer.

Rakosi, however, was not to be unsaddled by a mere hint, no matter how broad. Putting the best possible face on matters, he returned from the Twentieth Congress at the end of February, 1956, trimmed his sails to the wind and attempted to ride out the storm.

The decisions of the congress were dutifully hailed in a 12th-13th March resolution of the central committee that bristled with such phrases as "sincere joy", "profound agreement", and "wisdom of the party". But for the Hungarian people, scanning the arid expanses of the resolution, there was nary an oasis. It reaffirmed the resolutions of 4th March, 1955, which condemned Nagy's policies, renewed collectivisation and re-emphasised heavy industry, permitting itself a growl at the deposed premier's "right wing distortions". On the economic front, its greatest profundity was that:

... While priority must be given to heavy industry, agriculture must be developed first of all and higher crop yields and the socialist reorganization of agriculture must be ensured. The consumer goods industry must be developed, the speedy raising of the technological level of industry ensured, comparative backwardness eliminated, and we must continue to increase industrial and agricultural production and to raise the well-being of the people by increased productivity.

On the political front there was even less foliage:

A tenacious and systematic struggle must be pursued in the party so that collective leadership shall become a reality to the fullest extent on all levels. Democracy within the party must be further developed and, relying on the achievements that have already been attained, socialist legality must be strengthened even more.

For the Hungarian people, fully acquainted with the benefits of "socialist legality" and "the achievements already attained", the resolution was a clear sign that Rakosi, if he was to have his own way, was prepared to part with precious little of the Stalinist heritage. But the lid of Hungarian Stalinism's Pandora box, opened a notch by Nagy, had been lifted wide in Moscow, and this time Rakosi was unable to slam it shut. The cream of the nation's youth and intellectuals set themselves the task of bringing him down—a task that was to take just four months and leave the entire edifice of native Stalinism on the verge of crumbling.

For Rakosi, the first of a long series of retreats was the posthumous rehabilitation of the executed Laszlo Rajk on 29th March. His re-emergence in the gallery of saints was announced by Rakosi himself, who placed all the blame for his death on Lt.-Gen. Gabor Peter, former chief of police, who was in little position to object, having been sentenced to life imprisonment in 1954. It was the second ghost to be raised against Rakosi, but the most fearsome specter was only beginning to take shape.

The wraith had assumed its first tentative form at a meeting of the Writers' Union on 10th November, 1955, where such a struggle against Stalinist literary shackles was waged that the central committee felt impelled to draw up a resolution assailing "right-wing opportunism" in the literary sphere. The resolution declared:

Certain writers—including party members—have forgotten to serve the public and have become the spokesmen of the declining classes and the most backward strata. . . . There were some writers (Tibor Dery, Zoltan Zelk, Tamas Aczel, and others) who rejected the Central Committee's resolution of March, 1955, or acknowledged it only seemingly . . . The party's competent organs must examine the cases of those writers who have opposed the Central Committee's resolution of March and attempted to organise an opposition faction within the party.

This resolution, which acquired additional prestige as a result of being reprinted the next day in *Pravda*, succeeded momentarily in suppressing symptoms of the new spirit among Hungarian intellectuals. But when the fire is on, it is difficult to stop the pot from boiling. Before Hungary's body, emaciated by Russian colonial exploitation and scourged by the policeman's whip, was ready to stir in protest, Hungary's mind was in revolt against the intolerable strictures of Stalinist orthodoxy. By 7th January, even before the Twentieth Congress, *Szabad Ifjusag* found it necessary to write as follows:

Political uncertainty, poor ideological activity, the low standard of work in the Youth League and its lack of political emphasis, in many instances, spurred the growth . . . of hostile elements . . . Are there such elements in our universities? Unfortunately, there are. Their presence is revealed not only by the erroneous views still prevalent, but by open provocations and posters and leaflets slandering the party and government.

The elimination of ideological liberalism . . . and a determined stand against every erroneous view is our principal task. It is our task to convince advocates of erroneous views and misled young people that their ideas are wrong. In this respect, we must not be impatient and must resist every attempt to replace educational work with administrative methods.

What was happening and why was easy enough to see. Intellectuals who had seen a glimmer of hope in the "liberalisation" programme of Imre Nagy and who had been convinced that things would gradually become better had their expectations abruptly dashed by Rakosi's return to power. But having sipped from the cup of freedom (however diluted the wine), they were unwilling to surrender it. Rakosi, who thought that everything could be as before, was in for a bitter lesson. The substance of the matter was well stated by Tamas Aczel, ex-Stalinist novelist who found himself on the crest of the new wave:

There was only one real difference between the two Rakosi terrors, but that difference was important. It was something lingering in the Hungarian mind, the memory of the taste of freedom that we had had briefly under Nagy.

Larger and larger strata of the intellectuals and the youth found it impossible to tolerate the horrible grey conformity, the intellectual stagnation and the stultification of all creative initiative imposed by Stalinism. Equally important, they found it impossible to reconcile

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the gap between ideology and reality, between the glowing promises of material well-being and the grinding poverty of the population. Writers, musicians and students protesting on behalf of themselves, while disturbing, was something the regime could bear, but writers, musicians and students voicing the misery and the desires of the entire nation—that was a prospect it could only regard with terror. It was in the hopes of averting this denouement that the pitifully isolated government tacked and veered for the next nine months, now making extraordinary concessions to keep the movement within bounds, now cracking down when, despite all allowances, it threatened to become the spearhead of popular opposition. But the plain fact was that Stalinism, faced with growing revolt by almost the entire strata on which it depended for its ideological production, was helpless to meet it. Individuals who stepped out of the tight circle drawn by totalitarian orthodoxy could be clubbed back; when an entire segment of the population crossed the line, the regime had either to institute a massive repression, at untold cost, or widen the circle in recognition of the accomplished fact. Thus it was, from January to October, that the government gave ground—gave it with a snarl, but retreated, all the same. And as it did so, the realisation dawned: This animal was losing its teeth.

Focal point of the opposition were the Petofi Clubs—the big one in Budapest and a host of smaller ones that blossomed in other intellectual centers. The Petofi Club, named, significantly enough, after the poet-hero of the Hungarian revolt of 1848 against Austrian rule, had been organised under Nagy's "new course" as an adjunct to the Youth League, but its debates quickly widened a gap between itself and that official organisation. Suppressed for a time after Rakosi's return to the controls, it wrested back the right to exist after the Twentieth Congress and rapidly gave birth to a host of similar circles in other cities. In March the Budapest club launched a series of lectures and debates by students, teachers, writers and others, with "creative criticism" as the theme. In the forefront were such figures as Gyorgy Lukacs, the noted Marxist philosopher and literary historian; the widow of Laszlo Rajk; Tamas Aczel and Tibor Dery, the noted literary figure. Criticism covered the entire range of Hungary's political, economic and literary straitjacket, becoming, in the end, a mighty roar for the righting of all Stalinism's wrongs. The culmination came on 27th June, when 6,000 persons, including students, writers, teachers and army officers crowded into the hall to hear Dery and others voice scathing attacks on the regime and demand that Nagy, still in disgrace, be permitted to speak his thoughts to the nation. "Put him back in the party!" shouted the crowd. *Szabad Nep* gave this account of Dery's speech in a 3rd July editorial:

Tibor Dery used the debate for launching an open and brutal attack on the party. He attacked the leaders of the party and the party activists. He said that liberation would start only now. . . . Tibor Dery appealed to his audience to disseminate his anti-party views all over the country.

An account without the Stalinist flavor gave the keynote of Dery's appeal: "We have heard here much about literary liberty," he said, "liberty in general. Let us now speak more concretely . . . what the country needs now are deeds." The meeting, which lasted from 4 in the afternoon to 4 the following morning, shook with applause as speaker after speaker rose to echo Dery's challenge.

It was a terrible shock to the party, although one for which it should have been prepared. Already in April Sandor Lukacsy, a leading writer, had denounced Rakosi so sharply at a meeting of the Writers' Union that he was expelled from the party. Despite this, the Stalinist candidate for president of the union, Csabai, was defeated by 100 to 3 and Geza Kepes, a former member of the National Peasant Party, was elected in his stead. A conspiracy among journalists on *Szabad Nep* to put out an issue of the paper voicing such demands as dissolution of the secret police, withdrawal of the Russians, free speech and free elections, had been nipped at the last minute back in February; the leaders were fired and a few imprisoned, but some had become so popular through veiled attacks on the regime that the government hesitated to take sharp action against them. More than 5,000 letters had come into the *Szabad Nep* editorial offices in response to an article by one of the conspirators, Endre Szabo. And underneath the surface, the first rumblings had begun to be heard. A slow-down in protest against long pent-up economic grievances began to spread among workers and peasants. On this ground swell, with its threat to dislocate the entire economy, the critics mounted themselves and dared the government to act at the risk of provoking still further resistance.

But with all this, the 27th June debate added a new quality. For the first time, speaker after speaker dared to take the rostrum and plumb the very depths of his feelings, his tongue forming the words that all had been waiting to hear but none had hitherto dared to utter. First, the party-line Stalinists, Martin Horvath and Elizabeth Andics, attempted to take the floor. They were howled down and jeered from the hall, with the young army officers in the forefront of the chorus. Then came the procession of those whom the audience had come to hear.

"What is happening to our uranium?" cried Zoltan Kodaly, the composer. "What indeed!" shouted the crowd.

"When will our commercial treaties be published? When will we know what the Russians are paying for our best products?" queried Gyula Hay, the novelist.

"Why are we being exploited like a colony?" someone shouted. Then an unidentified speaker seized the microphone and cried: "The Russians must get out of Hungary! Free elections must be held! The secret police must be dissolved! There must be freedom of speech for all!"

The government was forced to act. Three days later a central committee resolution condemned the Petofi Circle, its meetings were suspended and Dery and Tibor Tardos, a young Communist writer, were expelled from the party. Rakosi, now fully alarmed, ordered a complete investigation and prepared the groundwork for the arrest of hundreds of intellectuals who had spearheaded the club's activities. But it was too late; Rakosi's head fell first.

On 18th July Anastas I. Mikoyan, Russian deputy premier and a member of the C.P.S.U. presidium, arrived in Budapest for a quickly called meeting of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Workers' Party. The Russian bureaucracy was as alarmed as Rakosi, but its solution was radically different: It was to sacrifice the Stalinist wheelhorse in the hope of appeasing popular sentiment. Rakosi's illness took a sudden turn for the worse, and on the same day he sent the following letter to the central committee:

Honorable Central Committee! I request the Central Committee to relieve me of the post of First Secretary of the Central Committee and of my membership in the Politbureau. One of the reasons for my request is that I am in my 65th year and that my illness with which I have now been suffering for two years with growingly aggravated effect hinders me from discharging the work devolving upon the First Secretary of the Central Committee. Furthermore, the mistakes I have committed in the field of the cult of personality and socialist legality make it difficult for the party leadership to concentrate our party's attention to the fullest extent upon the tasks lying ahead of us. By asking to be relieved of my post I desire to serve the great cause of our party, our working people and of socialism.

The central committee carried out its part of the masquerade, adopting the following resolution:

The Central Committee, establishing Matyas Rakosi's merits in the Hungarian and international labor movement in the struggle for the better future of the Hungarian people and for a socialist Hungary, concurs with what is contained in Comrade Rakosi's letter and relieves him, at his own request, of his membership in the Politbureau and of the post of First Secretary of the Central Committee.

Thus the fiction. For the fact, we introduce Zoltan Horvath, writing in the 14th October, 1956, issue of *Nepszava*:

Up to now it was, perhaps, correct not to speak of it, but it would be wrong to keep silent forever about the fact that on 18th July, 1956, Matyas Rakosi did not resign from the post of First Secretary in the Hungarian Workers' Party, but was called upon by the supreme body of the party to give up his post. And this was not made necessary for reasons of health but because of his complicity in all the acts for

which Mihaly Farkas and certain former officials of the State security force will have to answer before the competent courts.

One has to make it clear without ambiguity that a past record of almost half a century in the service of the workers' movement and 16 years in prison are not enough to provide safe conduct for the crimes which led to the staining of the cause of the People's Democracy and socialism and to disgracing our work of building socialism. We would be misleading our workers if we did not tell them openly that at this moment Rakosi is far away from our country and that our party and our people do not wish that it should be otherwise.

It is easy to say in retrospect that the Russians erred and that they would have been wiser to retain Rakosi's firm hand and avoid the terrible catastrophe that followed. But to do so would be to ignore two salient facts: (1) Rakosi's harshness would have made impossible a satisfactory economic and political organisation of the country under the circumstances then prevailing, and (2) the Russians were (and are) far from being of a unanimous mind on how to deal with the satellites. Strong voices within the ruling elite were insisting on a policy that would permit the satellite governments to stand without exclusive reliance on Russian military force and thus help free the Russian economy of the terrible burden imposed by a top-heavy army. Having been sucked dry in the initial parasitism that followed World War II, the Eastern European countries were already questionable economic assets and a source of political ferment that had dangerous implications for domestic tranquillity. Under these circumstances, it could not but appear that a retention of Rakosi would aggravate an already acute situation, make the economic problem insoluble and provoke precisely that which the Russians most wished to avoid—open rebellion (memories of the East German uprising were still green). Pure coercion was a resource of desperation to which the Russians were not yet ready to turn.

Thus Rakosi was turned out and the jail doors were opened to allow some of those he had tortured and imprisoned to step in, among them Janos Kadar. Kadar, who had sacrificed his fingernails to Mihaly Farkas, Rakosi's lord high executioner, was co-opted in one fell swoop into the Central Committee, the Politbureau and the post of Central Committee secretary, a peg below Erno Gero, Rakosi's quondam lieutenant, who was named First Secretary. Gero's report to the Central Committee left no doubt as to where the danger lay:

Furthermore, we have to bear in mind such forms as for instance the bloody provocation of Poznan. It would be a grave mistake not to draw a lesson from the Poznan provocation as regards our situation and our tasks. As a matter of fact, the enemy openly mentions—more than one imperialist paper and radio station did mention—that the enemy aims at having 'Hungarian Poznans'. Hungry pigs dream of acorns! . . .

Touch wood, no Poznan has occurred in Hungary, although one imperialist radio station boastfully described the Petofi Circle events (of 27th June) as a 'little Poznan'. There were sound features in

the Petofi Circle, and several of the motions made there should be taken to heart, as was clearly stated in the 30th June resolution of the central committee. The Petofi Circle included many honest people, loyal to the party and to our people's democracy, among them not a few Communists, who cherish the party, are unquestionably loyal to socialism, are good Hungarian patriots as well as adherents of proletarian internationalism. At the same time, however, it must also be said that in and around the Petofi Circle a second political center began to form, which challenged the nation's only real political center, the Central Committee of the Hungarian Workers' Party. It is beyond doubt that this has an organized character.

Gero confessed that the party Youth League (D.I.S.Z.) had permitted leadership of the Petofi Circle, with which it had been entrusted, to "slip from its hands", and that the party itself had permitted direction of its own central organ, *Szabad Nep*, to slip away almost as far, along with radio broadcasts. It was this already sharply deteriorated situation with which Gero came to grips. It took him just three months to travel the remainder of the road to Golgotha.

The students and intellectuals who had demanded Rakosi's head did not need Zoltan Horvath to tell them they had received it. The summer recess brought a temporary respite for the government, but it was an armistice during which the rebels, not the regime, gained strength. Students went back to their towns and villages, mingled with workers, peasants and craftsmen, spread word of what was taking place and took heart from the support they found everywhere. Workers and peasants, engaged in a sullen slow-down, found they had a voice; students and intellectuals learned they could count on the entire population if it came to a confrontation with the government and prepared grimly to push their advantage. The party central committee, increasingly nervous with the approach of September, began to retreat in advance. A resolution published in August promised to dispel some of the fears and misgivings of the old intelligentsia and overcome the split between the old and new generations of intellectuals (how fast it was being overcome the H.W.P. would have reason to find out!—P.E.), better utilization of the talents of technical experts with opportunities for their advancement, improving cultural exchange with the Soviet Union but also with the West, increasing the availability of foreign scientific journals and information, substantial improvement in the material conditions of many intellectuals, and finally, "discontinuing the compilation of confidential cadre material on people working in the intellectual professions".

On 28th August *Szabad Nep* set itself up as a lightning rod and took upon the party responsibility for the upsurge of criticism and dissatisfaction, admitted the slow pace of improvement and spoke of "young people's interest in politics, their passion for debate, their tendency to criticize, their healthy impatience demanding progress...". A few days later Magda Joboru, deputy minister of education,

admitted the perniciousness of discriminating against students of middle-class background, a policy reinforced after the first downfall of Imre Nagy.

Each concession served merely to whet the appetite, however. Heartened by their success in changing the intellectual and political climate, the opposition moved on to its next victory, at the Writers' Union conference of 17th September. Gyula Hay and Geza Losonczy issued uncompromising calls for "telling the truth", demanded complete freedom for writers, the retraction of party resolutions denying this right and the political exile of those who had drawn them up. The bond that was to unite Hungary's intellectuals as one man was formulated by Hay. "The meeting will have achieved its aim", he declared, "if every one of its actions is underlined by the principle that we Hungarian writers, regardless of party status and differences in philosophical conviction, conclude a stubborn protective alliance among ourselves to tell the truth." Thirteen former Stalinists were ousted from the executive board and replaced by writers who were a part of this "alliance" against lies and deception.

The political burial of Rakosi was made complete early in October with the ceremonial reinterment of Laszlo Rajk and the political rehabilitation of Imre Nagy. Rajk and three other victims of the Rakosi terror—Lt.-Gen. Georgy Palffy, Tibor Szonyi and Andras Szalai—were placed in state and then reburied in a macabre ceremony that became the occasion for a silent but striking demonstration of the people's hatred for the regime that had murdered them. Tens of thousands of Hungarians marched past the biers in an extraordinary display of solidarity, not so much with the deceased as with each other. As *Szabad Nep* put it in an editorial on 7th October, the day after the ritual:

. . . The silent demonstration of the hundreds of thousands of mourners was a pledge not only that we will preserve the pure memories but will also remember the dark practices of tyranny, lawlessness, slander and defrauding of the people . . .

Five days later General Mihaly Farkas, architect of the 1949 purge trials and the man who personally tortured Janos Kadar, was arrested for violating "socialist legality" while minister of defense. Only a day later, the Politbureau re-elevated Nagy to party status, finding that he had committed "political mistakes" but that "overstatements", "incorrect findings" and "the personal bias of Comrade Matyas Rakosi" had exaggerated them. The resolution came in response to a letter from Nagy requesting reinstatement in a manner so typical of the man that there can be no better introduction to this pitiful figure than to reproduce it in its entirety. The combination of whining abjectness with a sorry effort to retain the

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tattered cloak of political dignity is striking and sets the tone for the Nagy of late October:

Honorable comrades: I follow the imperative voice of my Communist convictions and attachment to the party by discarding personal interest, prestige considerations and resentment as I am again turning to the party. In writing this letter I was above all prompted by my anxiety for the unity of the party and by a desire to be able to work as soon as possible in the ranks of the party and shoulder to shoulder with members of the party on the many arduous tasks of building socialism for the country's prosperity and the peaceful and happy life of our working people, which require every effort of the party and the firm and loyal stand of every party member.

At the same time, when the great tasks arising from the July, 1956, resolution of the central committee and last, but not least, the thwarting of the calculations of the enemies of our people's republic absolutely demand the ideological, political, and organizational unity of the party, and also on this basis the national rallying of the broadest democratic forces, my unclarified party status and the uncertainty steadily growing around this affair aggravate the party's unity of action and divide the forces of the party and democracy precisely at the moment when grave economic and political tasks must be solved under the direction of the party. In such a situation the cause of party unity is a paramount and decisive question. I wish to establish that I regard party unity based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the principles of democracy within the party as the basic conditions for the party's success. Therefore, I would consider it culpable if the struggle around the so-called Imre Nagy affair within the party were to sharpen and become an obstacle to the strengthening of party unity and the firm united policy of the party when this obstacle could be and can be overcome by settling my affairs.

I want to stress emphatically that in the interest of settling my party status I will do everything within my power that is compatible with my Marxist-Leninist convictions and principles and with my Communist and human honor.

As I have already said in several memoranda, I deem it necessary to relate that:

(a) I am in agreement with the party's main political line, as determined by the resolutions of June, 1953, of the central committee and by the third party congress, that industry, agriculture and the entire national economy should be placed on the foundations of socialism in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism in accordance with the special conditions existing in Hungary;

(b) I am in agreement with the Leninist principle of democratic centralism on the basis of which I recognise party decisions as binding on me even if I partly or wholly disagree with them;

(c) I am in agreement in principle with those aims of the central committee resolution of July, 1956, which lead that party along the road of socialist democratism in the spirit of the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U. Although I hold a different opinion on several points of the resolution, I consider the resolution to be binding on me and I will fight for its realization.

I consider it absolutely indispensable that the accusations made in the past in connection with my political and ideological activity should be properly discussed before a leading party forum in public and should ideological clarification make it necessary, simultaneously with the rectification of the accusations which proved unfounded, I for one am ready to admit the truly existing mistakes.

I am convinced that my case must be settled both in the interest of party unity and the success of the political and economic tasks. I must emphasise this all the more because my expulsion from the party took place in violation of democracy within the party and of the party

statutes and was un-partylike. I was prompted by this conviction when I sent several memoranda to leading party organizations and when I turned to the party committee of my former primary party organization.

On the basis of all this I feel that my place is in the party, where I have spent nearly 40 years, and in the ranks of which I have struggled to the best of my ability, either with arms in hand or by work, words or pen for the cause of the people, fatherland and socialism. I ask the central committee to examine my party affairs again and to return my rights of party membership so that in this way, with the termination of my party affair, the successful solution of the tasks facing the party and the country may also be promoted. With comradely greetings, Imre Nagy.

Noteworthy is Nagy's virtual apology for disturbing party unity by his very existence, his abject agreement to be bound by resolutions which neither he nor the rank and file of party members had any voice in formulating, his admission of "mistakes" in the true spirit of "Bolshevik self-criticism", the submersion of all differences in the pool of "party unity". Nagy appears almost apologetic that his rehabilitation cannot be handled as neatly as Rajk's.

As unlikely a candidate as Nagy was for the toga of a hero, the by now semi-official opposition tried hard to make him one. The agricultural correspondents section of the National Union of Hungarian Journalists urged him "to continue [!] . . . the fight in the course of which he has already done so much for the education of the people and for the amelioration of their conditions". It was the first attempt to push Nagy on to a white horse—one that he would later ride backwards to disaster.

While democracy was being enacted as a comedy on the upper levels, it was unfolding with dramatic force below. The nation's entire educational and cultural system was in full revolt. Students were demanding the reintroduction of proper scholastic standards and clamoring for reform of the educational structure; teachers were acceding to them without waiting for official approval. They denounced the party's monstrous political distortions as a standard for pedagogy and rejected "proper political orientation" as the criterion for selecting teachers. The keynote was sounded at a meeting of the revived Petofi Club by Laszlo Farago, president of the Teachers' College, who climaxed a denunciation of Stalinist educational methods with the demand that "every bird be allowed to sing". Deputy Minister Joboru, who attended the meeting, fought a delaying action, admitting the unjust removal of teachers because of political or religious sympathies and promising rapid rehabilitation.

The official Youth League tried hard to swim with the current, but it was swamped. Students in both high schools and colleges rejected party plans to reform the D.I.S.Z. organization and demanded its dissolution. The demand was voiced at a "parliament" of high school students which demonstrated that youth in their early

teens stood solidly with university students in the struggle. College students drew up resolutions in preparation for a students' conference, and the D.I.S.Z., still fighting hard to keep from going under, incorporated them into its program. The demands, as broadcast by Radio Budapest, were as follows:

1. Abolition of the overcrowded curriculum and compulsory attendance at lectures. (This was aimed principally at forced attendance at courses in "Marxism".)
2. That language instruction be made optional and only one freely elected foreign language be compulsory. (This was directed at compulsory study of Russian.)
3. Greater emphasis on sports and less on military training. (This proved to be ironic.)
4. Reduction in the number of lecture hours for courses in Marxism-Leninism.
5. Re-examination of "national defense" education.
6. Improvement of students' food.
7. Suitable buildings for student hostels.

These were the published resolutions. A hint of what the unpublished ones consisted of was given the next day by *Szabad Ifjusag*, which described developments at the universities of Budapest, Debrecen and Szeged:

Although there are several demands with which it is impossible to agree, the fight now being conducted at the universities is reminiscent of the glorious days of 1848. At that time the whole of university youth rose to the pedestal of national respect. To-day it is well on its way to achieve similar heights.

Indeed!

The Stalinists tried desperately to take the curse off all this by approving it. On 19th October a conference of university rectors called by Education Minister Albert Konya quickly agreed to the D.I.S.Z. program. Compulsory Russian was abolished, as was compulsory "physical training" and attendance at lectures. A "council on higher education" was proposed to consider university problems.

The high school students, at their 19th October parliament, went even further than the older students. They demanded dissolution of the D.I.S.Z. and the removal of "Marxism" from the curriculum entirely. Speakers spoke with sarcasm and bitterness of all aspects of Hungarian life and called for fundamental changes. They demanded the replacement of D.I.S.Z. by separate organisations for high school students, university students and youth in the factories—the first

expression of the suppressed desire for diversity that was to spring to full flower in a fortnight.

The dissolution of the D.I.S.Z. was initiated forcefully by the university students, however; at Szeged University, where membership had declined precipitously all summer, the student body abolished it entirely on 20th October and formed their own organization, the United Association of Hungarian University and Academy Students (M.E.F.E.S.Z.). *Szabad Ifjusag*, whistling in the dark, maintained that the two organizations did not conflict:

M.E.F.E.S.Z. membership does not preclude membership and work in the D.I.S.Z. . . . In regard to the [M.E.F.E.S.Z.] program, the secretary of the D.I.S.Z. central committee said that he basically was in agreement with it. The party executive committee of Szeged City as well as the executive committee of D.I.S.Z. in Csongrad County also adopted a similar attitude.

The students, however, adopted a somewhat different one. They immediately drafted a twenty-point program demanding the arraignment of those responsible for political crimes, abolition of the death penalty, reorganization of the nation's electoral system "on a democratic basis" and restoration of 15th March, date of the 1848 revolution, as a national holiday. The Budapest Radio, which broadcast the demands with comment, muttered that the Szeged meeting had its "shadier aspects". "A few students wanted to behave in a provocative manner", it complained, "The students, however, gave proof of their political maturity."

That they did, and they were to give an even more striking proof in the next two days. Events in Hungary had been moving to a climax on their own internal momentum, but they were precipitated into full gallop by the "cold" revolt in Poland. Gomulka's defiance of Khrushchev, the stormy mass meetings in factories, universities and Army barracks, the "controlled" but nonetheless emphatic spirit of rebellion dominating literary life, was a tonic to the Hungarians at a time when they were hardly in need of one. Anything seemed possible—a hypothesis they were to put to the test almost without realizing it.

22nd October was a momentous day, the day of gathering thunderclouds. It was the last day on which the regime, had it acted firmly, could have postponed if not averted the revolt. But the government, with Gero in Belgrade signing a treaty of friendship with Marshal Tito, was by this time paralyzed with fear and consternation, unable to mobilize any internal resources and afraid to put its strength to a test in which failure could mean catastrophe. It was all too well aware that by this time the Army was infected with the virus, the workers were on the brink of rebellion and that only the secret police and the Russian soldiers could be depended upon.

But the secret police, so effective in preventing the crystallization of resistance among a politically atomized population, was no more than a brutal para-military force now that the nation was arrayed against it, and as a military force it was not enough. There remained the Russians, but to call them in meant surrendering the last shred of independence—and could mean the return of Rakosi, with all its consequences for those who had schemed against him. And so this stripped-down Stalinist government, acting in classical fashion for regimes of its type, continued to temporize, improvise, cajole and whistle hopefully. By nightfall of 22nd October, the die had been cast, the opportunity for decisive action was gone, the inauguration of open revolt was as certain as if it had been set to go off by clockwork.

It was a day of meetings. Students at the University of Economics drafted a 22-point resolution demanding an independent national and foreign policy and the reinstatement of Imre Nagy as premier. Budapest Radio, which broadcast the account, singled out as highlights a declaration of solidarity with the Poles and citation of the Polish struggle as an example for Hungary. In the evening, the Petofi Club sponsored a debate and drafted a ten-point resolution that demanded, among other things, the reinstatement of Nagy to national leadership, expulsion of Rakosi from the party, a public trial of Mihaly Farkas, rescinding of resolutions condemning the Petofi Club, the publication of Hungary's trade agreements with Russia and plans for utilization of uranium resources and establishment of Russian-Hungarian relations on the basis of "equality".

But the meeting of meetings took place at the Engineering University. There, a "parliament" called for 2 p.m. drew 4,000 students—and to their own surprise, a sprinkling of workers as well. Student after student took the rostrum to shout unrestrained demands for liberation of the nation, for departure of the Russians, who, in the words of one speaker who brought a crescendo of applause, "exploit us worse than a colony". Stalinist functionaries who tried to stem the tide with a courage that did them credit were hauled down and escorted from the hall. The students were already past the mood where they were willing to listen to a defense of the regime that had stifled and suppressed them for so long. Ribbons of red, white and green, the Hungarian national colors, began to appear on lapels throughout the hall. Sparks were being struck continuously, and yet they might have passed without catching fire had the students remained in campus quarantine. For while the students knew how they felt, they did not know the mood of the rest of Hungary. How far would the remainder of the population follow if they were to have the audacity to implement words with action and force a showdown with the government on their most important demands?

The answer came with unexpected suddenness when a procession

of workers—a miner, a worker from Csepel Island, Budapest's industrial center, and an instrument worker—strode to the rostrum to pledge their solidarity. The meeting was transformed; the question of how to broadcast their demands became uppermost. For with unerring instinct the students realized that if the people were ready to support them, nationwide publication of their stand was the critical step toward moving the entire nation into action. The regime, politically feeble as it was, knew this too, and it was over this decisive issue that the irreconcilable clash was finally to take place.

A ten-point draft, condensed from scores of suggestions thrown forth at the meeting, was taken to Budapest Radio, which, accustomed as it had become to extraordinary demands in the previous few days, had promised to broadcast them. But it was not prepared for the audacity of the program with which it was confronted. It called for Hungarian independence, the departure of Russian troops, Nagy as premier, free elections with the participation of all parties, increased wages, reduction in peasants' taxes, a halt to uranium shipments to Russia, the placing of Rakosi on trial and freedom of speech and of the Press. The students were no longer speaking for themselves; they were speaking for the entire nation. The horrified radio officials recoiled and refused to broadcast the entire platform, but in now typical fashion, they temporized. They offered to broadcast five of the demands, omitting such critical ones as departure of the Russians, retention of uranium, etc. The students, angry at the refusal, attempted to go to Nagy, but were turned back by secret police outside Nagy's villa. The delegation went back to the university, where the meeting was still in session, and reported on its experience. The students' fervor rose as they debated the key problem of how to publicize their demands; the D.I.S.Z. publication agreed to print eight but not the ones for withdrawal of Russian troops and free elections. It was finally decided to print leaflets; duplicator machines were pressed into service and universities throughout Budapest were called on to help. The number of demands swelled as they spread, and by early the next morning leaflets broadcasting 14 uncompromising demands were affixed to trees and factory walls throughout Budapest.

The effect of these leaflets was described in the following words by a witness before the United Nations special committee on Hungary:

Everyone went out on to the streets weeping. People read the points and then rushed home or to their factories. Every stenographer and every typist did nothing but copy these things in all the offices. The Communist Party forbade this in vain. Everyone was talking about it; in conversations, over the telephone, the news spread in a few hours, and within a short time, all Budapest became an anthill. People pinned the Hungarian national cockade to their clothes, and a really fantastic miracle occurred, for I regard it as a miracle that the whole people became unified.

... On the morning of this day, for the first time, someone had

dared to say that the Russians should leave Hungary. This was what gave us unity, and the point at which the chains were broken which had bound us until then, the point at which the net in which the A.V.H. spy system had been holding us was broken. . . . Everyone could be trusted, everyone had a feeling of complete unity, because the entire system based on lies collapsed in a moment on the morning of 23rd October.

The die had been cast, for Rakosi's heirs and for the Hungarian people. There was now no turning back. In less than 18 hours, gunfire crackled on the streets of Budapest.

F. Lohenbill

NOT BY BREAD ALONE

In July, 1957, an international conference of "sovietologists" was held in Oxford. Obviously, "sovietologists" are the elite of the experts on Russia. According to the report by Melvin J. Laski in *Encounter* of September, 1957, they had gathered in order to discuss the "changes which had occurred in Soviet society".

The discussion centred round a lecture given by Bertram D. Wolfe to which he had given the characteristic title of "The Durability of Despotism".

For Wolfe, totalitarianism is an unchangeable system which undergoes changes only by such natural causes as the death of a dictator or the temporary "built-in staying powers" of the system itself.

The conception of the invulnerability of totalitarianism and the impossibility of the people afflicted by it overcoming it "internally" by their own power, is as old as the phenomenon of modern totalitarianism itself.

However, the long discussions of the Oxford experts did not lead to any solution of the question raised by Wolfe, and did not go beyond such sophisms as, when are "changes", "changes" and at what point does "quantity" change into "quality".

"Built-in staying powers" are concessions made to the Opposition by a totalitarian regime.

The problem is not whether the concessions made by a totalitarian regime are "genuine"—their existence is proof of their "genuineness"—but whether the Opposition can use these concessions as a starting point to enforce further concessions. This alone

determines their "duration" and not the secret intentions of the totalitarian rulers.

The conference would, we think, have done better to occupy itself with the real political situation in Russia, instead of juggling with abstract, empty conceptions. This would have brought it much nearer to an understanding of the "changes in Soviet society". The recently published book by Dudintsev, *Not By Bread Alone** and the discussions it initiated would have been a fitter subject for debate.

A novel castigates the System.

For the Russian writers, the question of the "liberties granted" by the regime was not an abstract theoretical problem. The answer to the question "how far one could go", could only be found in practice. This, however, required the courage of one's convictions. Yet, despite the horrible experiences of the past, courage has never been lacking in Russia. A new proof of this is Vladimir Dudintsev's novel. It is a courageous attempt to put to the test the extent of the liberties granted by Khrushchev. In his book Dudintsev says what in Russia nobody, for more than two decades, has been able to say publicly. He gives a clear picture of the terrible power wielded by the Russian State apparatus which seeps into all pores of society and crushes all individuality. "What have I lived to see!" thinks Lopatkin, the novel's hero, "A Russian sitting opposite one and threatening one with a terrible danger: that one might become a genius in one's own country! But one must on no account be a river, one must be no more than a drop." Dudintsev, however, does not confine himself to such insights. Defeatism and resignation he leaves to the disappointed and disillusioned of the older generation. It is the old Yevgeni Ustinovich Bussko who says in utter despair: "... the older one gets the less disappointment one suffers! Because one loses the habit of hoping. Hopes are cherished only by the youth." Dudintsev stands behind the youth for his book is a challenge to the regime: "One must go into battle openly, always openly! And with flags unfurled."

He, however, could not lead the attack as openly as the hero of his novel would wish to do. He had to choose a form which enabled him to say all that was essential, without being politically too outspoken. Lopatkin, a teacher of physics, has by chance made a discovery, and endeavours with fanatical zeal to put it into practice. We accompany Lopatkin step by step in his struggle against the unbelievable difficulties put in his way by the bureaucracy. The fact alone that Lopatkin made a discovery, independently, and outside, of the bureaucratic "collective", endangers him. The bureaucracy does

*Published by Hutchinson and Company, London.

not tolerate independent and individual initiative, for all independent achievement which is brought about without the enormous resources of the bureaucratic apparatus, puts into question the need of the bureaucracy as such.

Dudintsev demonstrates in his novel an intimate knowledge of the bureaucracy. He gives a minute picture of the way in which the apparatus systematically undermines all initiative and how it finally puts before the individual the choice either of capitulating before the bureaucracy or of leading a miserable existence as an outcast from official society. The capitulator is rewarded with all the privileges of a comfortable bureaucratic existence; but he loses all claims to personal intellectual activity, for the latter must now entirely be at the service of the apparatus—his ideas, right or wrong, have value only inasmuch as they are of use to the bureaucratic collective.

Three inventor types are brought to life in the novel: the capitulators, Bussko and Lopatkin.

Yevgeni Ustinovich Bussko is an old, one-time famous inventor. In his conflict with the bureaucracy, he lost office and position. He led a long and persevering struggle against the bureaucracy, experienced all that Lopatkin still has to experience, and finally renounces in resignation, as he thinks it impossible to fight successfully against the apparatus. With the income from some occasional work, he leads a frugal existence, continues to work in secret at his inventions, no longer believing, however, in their realisation.

Lopatkin on the contrary is young and enthusiastic and believes in the victory of his struggle.

It is certainly not by accident that these three inventor-types have their exact counterparts in the political sphere: the capitulators represent the majority of the old revolutionaries who were subjugated by Stalin; Bussko represents the old Bolshevik who has retained his old ideals but does not believe in their realisation; Lopatkin, on the other hand, stands for the young Russia: full of hope and convinced of the victory of its struggle.

Significant and typical for the novel is the fact of Lopatkin's victory against the bureaucracy, notwithstanding the fact that he had to spend 18 months in a labour camp.

Engineer Galitski, a man holding a responsible position, succeeded in putting Lopatkin's invention into practice in his factory which was beyond the control of the sabotaging part of the bureaucracy. This was made possible with the assistance of Lopatkin's faithful friends who provided the necessary information and who reconstructed the blueprints and drawings which had been confiscated.

The author sees the main reason for Lopatkin's victory in his consistent attitude which made him friends everywhere. Although the friends he made, often even without his knowledge, were only a

small minority; yet this small minority was able to provide the inventor with all the intellectual and material assistance required for his success.

Dudintsev contrasts the success of this small subversive group with the efforts of the enormous bureaucratic apparatus. The huge bureaucratic monopoly with its large staff of scientists and with its inexhaustible resources was incapable of producing a machine of a standard equal to that invented by Lopatkin. The bureaucracy wasted millions on this project—without substantial results. What, however, the giant State monopoly was incapable of accomplishing, was achieved by this small group of friends, with few means, without formal links and with a minimum of organisation. The author reveals with this confrontation of State monopoly and independent working groups a great understanding of the problems of our time. In his criticism of the bureaucracy, he shows the opposition in which direction it has to proceed. He does not leave any doubt about the fact that Lopatkin's victory is only a conditional victory. The invention has materialised—but the bureaucracy is still the master. At the end, Lopatkin understands that the real struggle is still to come. Only a *political* struggle can break the power of the bureaucracy, an insight which the engineer Galitski had tried earlier to make him understand.

Dudintsev under pressure.

Dudintsev has written this book in a veiled language—but for the Russian reader his language is sufficiently clear and to the point. The novel, which had been published in instalments, had a resounding success among the intelligentsia—and in particular among the students. They greeted it as the beginning of a new era in Russian literature, now at last again in the service of truth. The novel was published before the events in Hungary, when Khrushchev's liberalisation policy had reached its climax. Even the Russian Press reviewed it sympathetically at first—but the liberal honeymoon did not last long. In Russia such a novel is political dynamite. Hungary was a warning to the Russian rulers, for the Hungarian freedom writers had been the heart and soul of the uprising. The Russian writers had expressed their urge for freedom in many poems and critical essays; they also threatened to become a danger to the Russian rulers; a stop had to be put to their activities.

As his novel had become the symbol of resistance, the authorities, of course, directed their main attack against Dudintsev, who by now had not only acquired national, but also international, fame. He refused to rewrite the novel in accordance with the wishes of the authorities and in a speech defended his right to write such books.

And thus months later, in spite of the official reprimand, his novel was published in Russia in book form, in its original version. Soon afterwards, the English Press carried a news item to the effect that the Russian Trade Delegation in London had requested the publisher to delay publication of Dudintsev's novel, as the author wanted to make certain alterations. The English publisher did not accept this proposal; but offered to give the author the opportunity to indicate the required changes in a preface and to state his reasons for these.

The novel appeared recently in England with a postscript by the author in which Dudintsev refutes the attitude of some Western critics; yet does not renounce a word of what he has written. He defends the novel as an authentic description of Russian conditions, and expresses the wish that the English reader may find in it the great love of the Russian people for humanity, and their faith in the inevitable victory of reason and justice.

Another noteworthy incident is the broadcast in English by Radio Moscow, of Dudintsev's polemics against Crankshaw's review of his novel in the English Sunday paper *The Observer*, in which an essentially correct evaluation of the book is given. The polemics in which Dudintsev engages merely demonstrate that the pressure exercised upon him by the authorities leaves him no other choice but either to declare himself *openly* as an opponent of the Russian system—or to use in reply to the critique made by Crankshaw the same veiled language in which his novel is written. To the correct observation by Crankshaw that the party does not play any rôle in his novel and that in it party and bureaucracy are one, Dudintsev opposes the fiction of the idealistic struggle of the party for Communism. Dudintsev cites Galitski as an example of, in his opinion, the typical representative of the fighting party-member who is not even mentioned by Crankshaw. In the novel, Galitski is the most consistent and most decided opponent of the regime. If the most consistent opponent of the regime is also the most consistent Communist, then this is indeed a very thinly veiled and "heretical" definition of Communism, which certainly is not agreeable to the Russian authorities.

Dudintsev detected, however, in Crankshaw's criticism a weak spot and he used it well to give a lesson to Crankshaw and the Western "experts on Russia". Crankshaw sees in Lopatkin a typical Russian figure: an individualist, a saint and a fool. Lopatkin, in reality, is none of these. He is just a human being, who consistently fights for his ideas against unbelievable odds. According to Crankshaw and a whole troop of like-minded people, this is the height of folly. On this, Dudintsev comments as follows:

"I hasten to assure that I wholeheartedly and without reservations

associate myself with this purely Russian—as you call it—religion of lofty human emotions”.

Opposition of the writers.

The intended regimentation of literature by the bureaucracy runs against unanimous and obstinate opposition by the writers, who countered the action of the bureaucracy with a conspiracy of silence. The bureaucracy was terror-stricken; for the first time for years it met with a consistent and organised opposition. Khrushchev expressed the fears of the Russian rulers in the following words: “. . . the lesson of the Hungarian events, in which the counter-revolution misused some writers for their own dark aims, is for us an indication as to where political negligence, lack of principles and character could lead.” Victor Zorza writes in the *Manchester Guardian* of 4th September, 1957, about Khrushchev's speech:

A leading article of a length unusual even for *Pravda*—three columns on the front page—and another leading article of two columns, as well as a round-up of writers' and artists' reactions to the Khrushchev speeches, have all been used to drive home Mr. Khrushchev's lesson to the writers. This is, briefly, that they must write what the party wishes them to write, for their failure to do so, and their search for “creative freedom” might cause in Russia an upheaval similar to that which occurred in Hungary.

Bertram D. Wolfe and the whole worthy club of experts on Russia should make a note of this confession by the Russian rulers. They will, however, hardly learn anything from it. They are no Lopatkins. The only goods they can sell in the West with some profit are the old nonsense about totalitarianism, about the Russian soul, about the inertia of the Russian people and their incapacity to fight for ideals.

But the Russians refuse to behave according to the rules of the Western experts. The warnings given to the authors by Khrushchev have to this day not achieved great success. Although many have succumbed to the pressure, many others are still persevering. Warnings and threats by Khrushchev have been *manifold*. He even went so far as to say that he would not hesitate, under certain circumstances, to put a few recalcitrant writers against the wall. Yet, the Russia of Khrushchev is not Stalin's Russia. Notwithstanding his many successes in his struggle against rival factions, Khrushchev's political power is in no way secure. Although disciplinary measures have been taken against the leaders of the factions, the factions continue to exist just as before—the people want liberty.

The strength of this will for liberty in Russia can well be gauged by the fact that Ilya Ehrenburg—Ehrenburg of all people—who was always a faithful lackey of the regime, has now come forward with a sharp criticism of the system. Ehrenburg cloaks his criticism in

the form of an article about Stendhal; but what he really wants to say cannot be misinterpreted. In his article in *Innostrannaya Literatura* he quotes the following characteristic extract from Stendhal: "What counts is not the personality of the tyrant but the essence of tyranny. A tyrant may be intelligent or stupid, good or evil—but whatever the case, he is both all-powerful and powerless, he is frightened by conspiracies, he is flattered, he is deceived. The prisons fill, the cowardly hypocrites whisper, and the silence becomes so complete that the heart almost stops."

It is clear that the ferment continues in Russia. The authorities try to get all independent aspirations under their control—but they cannot suppress the popular endeavours. They cannot have recourse to brutal, cruel repressions and arrests as in Stalin's time. They lack the power to do so. In the best of cases, they could reach a compromise with the opposing forces. A compromise, however, would mean that a certain leeway would be left for criticism.

The *Manchester Guardian* of 16th November, 1957, reports on an interview during which Khrushchev is supposed to have said about Dudintsev: "I expect to see Dudintsev. His book is very strong, but he is wrong on many things. He will continue writing but it will be on things for which the capitalist world will not praise him."

Even Khrushchev has to curtsy before Dudintsev, although he has already decided, with a grand bureaucratic gesture, on what topics Dudintsev shall write; for according to Khrushchev there could not be in Russia "a variety of antagonistic schools of thought and trends since the Soviet Union is a monolithic society". This admission he makes in the same interview. But what Khrushchev thinks and what happens in practice, are two different things. Yet notwithstanding future happenings, Dudintsev's novel will remain an important landmark in the struggle for liberty in Russia.

A Matter of "Scientific Objectivity"!

"I asked von Braun [creator of the V2 and the U.S. Satellite] if the working conditions he had found in the United States had caused him to regret not having signed on with the Russians. 'No,' he replied, 'but working in a dictatorship can have its advantages, if the regime is behind you.'" (*The Observer*, London, "The Man in the Thick Lead Suit", by Daniel Long.)

THE THIRD WORLD CONFERENCE AGAINST A- AND H-BOMBS

A Report and an Appraisal

The Third World Conference against A- and H-Bombs and for Disarmament was held in Tokyo, 6th to 16th August. We print below a report on the conference sent to Contemporary Issues by Kaoru Yasui, director general of the sponsoring Japan Council against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs; the text of the declaration adopted by the conference, and a letter of evaluation from Paul Ecker, an associate of Contemporary Issues, submitted for publication in No More Hiroshimas, organ of the Japan Council.—Editor.

5th September, 1957.

To Contemporary Issues:

Dear friend,

On behalf of the Representative Committee of the Japan Council against A- and H-Bombs, I should like to send our deep gratitude to you for your warm concern shown to the Third World Conference against A- and H-Bombs and for Disarmament which has just been held in Tokyo.

The General Assembly of the United Nations Organisation is going to be held from coming 10th September in New York. We, the peace lovers of the world, who have been opposed to the destructive nuclear weapons, capable of annihilating mankind, and who have consistently been demanding disarmament, are expecting the U.N. General Assembly this time for its effective contribution to our common cause.

The World Conference against A- and H-Bombs and for Disarmament, held between 6th and 16th of August in Tokyo with the participation of twenty-six countries and ten international organisations, pointed out in its Tokyo Declaration as follows:

"Our actions must especially be directed towards the General Assembly of the United Nations. We demand that this body fulfil its important responsibility to the peoples for the prohibition of nuclear weapons and for disarmament without further delay".

Embodying this idea the Conference made the following recommendation on the action to be taken toward the U.N. General Assembly to be opened in September:

"The General Assembly of the United Nations scheduled to open on 17th September, 1957, is of vital importance with regard to the prohibition of the test of nuclear weapons. In order to influence the General Assembly and to have the countries concerned enter into an

agreement on immediate and unconditional prohibition of nuclear tests, we recommend the following activities:

(a) That a certain date or dates be fixed between October and November, in order to organise all forms of activity to demand on that day or days the conclusion of an agreement on immediate and unconditional prohibition of nuclear tests.

(b) That such an action be directed toward the United Nations either directly or through the governments of various countries.

(c) That such an action take manifold forms according to the specific conditions of individual countries, regions or places, and be organised in such a way as to mobilise the widest public opinion".

Just after the Conference had finished, the Soviet Government announced that they had completed intercontinental ballistic missiles which could reach wherever they should like on the earth. The completion of this kind of ultimate weapon seems to impose on all humanity the duty the more vigorously to demand the immediate banning of nuclear weapons and the responsibility to have the stoppage of all kinds of nuclear tests realised immediately.

Taking this situation into account the Japan Council against A- and H-Bombs should like to put some proposals to your consideration based on the recommendation of the World Conference. We sincerely beg you that you would kindly endorse the recommended actions made at the Tokyo World Conference and take heed of our concrete proposals below so as to help the most effective co-ordination among the movements of different countries.

(1) *To designate from 20th October to 10th November as the International Common Action Days toward the General Assembly of the United Nations and to promote simultaneous actions in various countries during this period, though the forms of such actions be different according to the situations existing in each country.*

In our opinion the common aim of our actions directed toward this specific General Assembly of the U.N. be:

"To have the General Assembly pass a resolution recommending the conclusion of an agreement among powers concerned on the immediate unconditional banning of all the experimental explosions of nuclear weapons".

The reason why we think we should demand the resolution of the General Assembly is that the effect of such a resolution was already testified by the experience of last year, when the world was saved from the brink of war.

(2) Though the forms of actions should vary in different countries, certain forms of actions seem by nature to necessitate a certain extent of uniformity. We have in mind the following forms:

(a) International joint declarations toward the United Nations by prominent scientists, religious bodies and individuals, trade unions, writers and other influential bodies or individuals.

(b) Telegrams or letters of petition directed toward the U.N. General Assembly.

These joint declarations and letters or cablegrams of petition we recommend to be prepared in each country.

We shall be very much obliged if you would kindly take notice of the above proposals and would write us what you think of the above by the end of September. We will try to make adjustment among the opinions of various countries and organisations and will communicate you again.

On our part, the Japan Council against A- and H-Bombs is going to hold a "Mass Rally to Demand U.N. General Assembly to Pass Resolution on the Banning of Nuclear Tests" on 17th September in Tokyo. With this rally as a starting point, we shall develop a nation-wide signature campaign to petition the following three points to the Japanese Government that:

(1) Japanese Government bring forward the proposal to the General Assembly on the immediate unconditional conclusion of an agreement on the banning of nuclear weapon tests, that the Japanese Government should do this in co-operation with Asian-African governments.

(2) That the Japanese Government conclude an agreement with the U.S. Government declaring never to introduce nuclear weapons into the Japanese territory.

(3) That the Japanese Government improve the relief law for the atomic victims, enlarging it to include assistance for their livelihood.

This campaign is directed not only to the Japanese Government but also to the United Nations itself in forms of petition by letter or telegram and every other means possible. In parallel with the signature campaign, trade unions, student bodies, women's organisations and other sections of people will conduct their own activities throughout the country. These actions will be concentrated on the Japanese Government during the term between 20th October and 10th November, if the dates should be endorsed as the International Action Days.

The Third World Conference against A- and H-Bombs and for Disarmament entrusted the Japan Council with the tasks of liaison, co-ordination and of the exchange of information among the anti-A- and H-Bomb movements in different countries. We feel it a great honour to be offered such an important task and are glad to accept the duty.

We believe it is very important to promote the exchange of information among various kinds of movements. In order to make this easier, we are ready to offer the periodical organ of the Japan Council, *No More Hiroshimas* for this purpose.

We are waiting for your article on the activities you are undertaking for the prohibition of A and H weapons and your brief view of the current situation in connection with those weapons. Any photographs which can introduce your movement to readers are also welcome. *No More Hiroshimas* has a large circulation throughout the world,

covering a very broad people interested in peace. We believe this paper will be of service to further your activities.

We are eagerly looking forward for your favour on the above suggested points and wish you every success in your noble task.

Sincerely yours,

Kaoru Yasui.

Director General, The Japan Council against A- and H-Bombs.

TOKYO DECLARATION.

The Third World Conference against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs and for Disarmament was held in Tokyo from 6th to 16th August, 1957. 3,981 Japanese delegates and 97 delegates from 25 countries and ten international organisations from Asia, Africa, Europe, America and Australia attended the Conference with the common purpose of terminating all the preparations for nuclear war.

As a result of serious discussions in the Conference, we have reached agreement on the following points, irrespective of differences of social systems, ideological persuasions and religious beliefs.

We regard nuclear tests as a dangerous expression of preparations for nuclear war and hereby demand that governments concerned conclude an international agreement for an immediate and unconditional ban on nuclear tests.

We demand the prohibition of manufacture, stockpiling and use of nuclear weapons with international control.

We oppose the introduction of nuclear weapons by the nations in possession of them into any other countries.

We demand universal disarmament with controls accepted by the countries concerned. If agreement on universal, general disarmament is not yet possible, we demand a partial disarmament agreement.

We oppose the establishment and expansion of military bases, especially nuclear bases.

We recognise that the simultaneous liquidation of all the military blocs and the abandoning of all military bases and the withdrawal of all troops from all foreign territories lessen the threat of nuclear war.

The solution of these questions will contribute towards the easing of tensions and improvement of international situation. It would also contribute towards the restoration or achievement of national independence.

It is essential for us immediately to take effective actions to realise our aim. We are determined to do everything in our power to stimulate national united actions in our respective countries and united international actions.

Our actions must especially be directed toward the General Assembly of the United Nations. We demand that this body fulfil its important responsibility to the peoples for the prohibition of nuclear weapons and for disarmament without further delay.

We are convinced that the assurance of a future free from war, and

proven hazards of radioactive fall-out from all tests is the greatest desire of the peoples of the world. The perspective of such a future would bring great solace to the people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the first victims of the atomic bombs and also to the victims of the Bikini hydrogen bomb experiment.

The ultimate objective of our movement against nuclear tests and weapons and for disarmament lies in the outlawing of war itself.

We make this declaration in the name of the Third World Conference against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs and for Disarmament.

Tokyo, 16th August, 1957.

The Third World Conference against A- and H-Bombs and for Disarmament.

* * *

To the Japan Council against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs:

Dear friends,

It is possible at the same time to say too much and too little. It is into this error that we of *Contemporary Issues* in the United States and England believe that both the Japan Council and the Third World Conference against A- and H-Bombs and for Disarmament have fallen.

This is a conclusion which we pronounce with reluctance, for the world conference in general and the Japan Council in particular embody the hopes of a large segment of the world's population, who look for leadership in the effort to end the threat of nuclear extinction confronting mankind. We are happy to accept your offer of space in *No More Hiroshimas* to explain the basis upon which we have reached it.

We must do so, among other reasons, to make it clear why *Contemporary Issues*, the first publication in the United States to raise its voice against H-bomb testing almost four years ago, cannot participate in the "International Common Action Days" proposed by the world conference. We cannot regard this programme and the orientation embodied in it as anything but a fatal dissipation of the energies of a movement from which the world has a right to expect greater things.

We recognise that these words, spoken at this late date, come too tardily to alter this programme. Our limited resources, unfortunately, made it impossible for us to send to the world conference a delegate who could have spoken out there on behalf of what we believe to be the correct approach toward halting nuclear tests. But while it is too late to affect plans for the "International Common Action Days", it is not too late to hope for a change in the orientation that has led to them.

It requires neither a delphic oracle nor a prophet of doom to predict that the international movement against H-bomb tests will find itself in the same position after the United Nations General Assembly has met as it was before. This will be the case regardless of whether or

not the General Assembly accepts your recommendation and adopts a resolution calling upon the great powers to conclude an agreement for the unconditional banning of A- and H-bomb tests. It would thus be the greatest tragedy for the movement to continue on a path which events have already abundantly demonstrated can lead only in a closed circle.

The fundamental criticism to be directed against this "demand", the paramount one to be raised by the world conference, is an ironic one. It is all too likely to "succeed". This "success", if it does not take precisely the form of the General Assembly resolution for which you call, will surely be achieved, sooner or later, by the renewal of those "negotiations" with which the world has been surfeited for the past six months. Indeed, what do these negotiations, with their attendant barrage of propaganda and counter-propaganda, represent but an acknowledgment of world public opinion's condemnation of the bomb tests and its demand that "something must be done about it". Alas, we should all have learned by now that this "something" is in actuality nothing at all, nothing but a device to palm off responsibility for continuation of the tests and to assuage the insistent public cry for "action". The trouble with the position taken by the World Conference is that it falls too easily into line with the translation of action into talk, the interminable talk of diplomats who have agreed on only one thing: To disagree.

Coming after the abysmal "failure" of the London disarmament talks (a failure, to be sure, only if one believes they were seriously intended to end any other way), how does your demand "to have the General Assembly pass a resolution recommending the conclusion of an agreement among powers concerned on the immediate unconditional banning of all the experimental explosions of nuclear weapons" measure up to the requirements of the situation? What would follow even in the event that this was formulated as an "order" instead of merely a recommendation, of which there have been plenty?

The answer is obvious enough: We would be right back where we were before the London talks, back, in fact, to the days of 1946 and the Baruch Plan. The simple reason is that it is impossible to demand of two parties that they conclude an agreement. Since an agreement is a bilateral and not a unilateral affair, each side can maintain, with disarming plausibility, that conclusion of the agreement is not its responsibility, that it is, indeed, not even within its sole power. And is this not precisely what has happened for the past 12 years?

There is a demand, however, which brooks no evasion, which permits of no prevarication, which places responsibility squarely where it belongs. It is the demand for *unilateral cessation* of nuclear tests.

We cannot understand how this compellingly clear-cut formula is missing from the resolutions and declarations of the world conference, as well as from the protestations of the Japan Council. We cannot understand how any movement which seriously maintains its concern about the effects of nuclear testing can refrain from addressing this

demand insistently and repeatedly to the United States, Russia and England, the three powers who share responsibility for continued atomic pollution of the earth's atmosphere.

Its virtues are simple. It permits of no two-faced "acceptance" that places the issue on a perpetual merry-go-round. It can only be acceded to—in which case the most immediate danger confronting humanity will have been averted—or rejected outright—in which case responsibility will be clear and the peoples involved can redouble their efforts to bring an irresistible pressure to bear upon the recalcitrant governments.

Indeed, was it not upon this very basis that the anti-H-bomb movement started in Japan? Did not the Japanese Government itself, acting on the insistence of its population, ask the United States to refrain from further tests in the Pacific? Has not even the World Council of Churches adopted this position? It is odd, indeed, that the World Conference should place itself a step behind these bodies in the campaign to save the world from nuclear contamination.

The fact is that the demand for immediate, unilateral cessation of H-bomb tests is a touchstone distinguishing the true opponents of H-bomb testing from its false friends and those who permit themselves to be misled by them. The question is a particularly acute one for the citizens of those countries whose governments are conducting the tests. Recently 2,000 United States scientists joined in a declaration calling upon their government to halt its testing programme as a menace to human well-being. Will B. D. Petrov, Russian sponsor of the Third World Conference, or the Russian delegates who attended, do the same? Is it to avoid embarrassing them and the delegates from China that the conference refrained from including this demand in its plank? If so, their inclusion was dearly bought; if not, the failure appears impossible to explain short of acceptance of the official viewpoint that it is better to continue poisoning the earth than to halt the tests without an agreement. And if this reasoning is accepted, what need is there for an international movement against the bomb? The governments themselves have announced repeatedly that they are all for negotiations. For that they do not need a cheering squad on the sidelines.

This, then, is the sense in which we say that the Japan Council and the World Conference have said too little. But almost equally important and indissolubly linked with this defect is the fact that they have said too much.

The conference's Tokyo declaration calls, with equal weight, for an international agreement to halt nuclear tests, for prohibition of the manufacture, stockpiling and use of nuclear weapons, for a ban on their introduction to new areas, for universal disarmament, for an end to military bases, the withdrawal of all foreign troops from occupied countries, the simultaneous liquidation of all military blocs, and the sum of all these, "the outlawing of war itself".

All these are unexceptionable as human and social aims, but as "demands"—well, that is something else again. Stated in *abstracto*,

as a matter of fact, who, after all, would oppose them? Have not the great statesmen, right up to Eisenhower and Khrushchev pronounced themselves in favor of them all on suitable occasions, merely qualifying their practical acceptance by a few conditions on which, as perversity would have it, they could never agree? The hard fact is that such generally stated "demands" are not demands at all but only expressions of hope, because they permit a fatal division of responsibility on the part of those to whom they are addressed. To insist that American troops leave Okinawa, to call for Russian troops to leave Hungary—there are *demands* which go straight to the mark. To "demand", on the other hand, that "all" foreign troops leave countries in which they do not belong, with its clear implication of reliance upon "international agreement"—that is not only to permit the ball to be tossed from one hand to the other once again but to permit oneself to be drawn into the game.

Still, you may say, what can be the harm in voicing these hopes, even if they go wrongly clothed as "demands"? Simply this: At a moment when the governments that hold our destinies are strong and the force of public opinion is weak, their multiplicity hinders the concentration of all the weight at our command upon the one overriding, incomparable issue: *An end to nuclear tests*. With all the implied peril that the manufacture and stockpiling of nuclear weapons has for humanity, it is only a potential danger. What is immediate, irreversible and actual, however, is their continued testing. The harm done by the explosion of each new bomb can never be undone; each explosion brings us nearer to that line which, once crossed, can never be retraced. For an end to manufacturing H-bombs, for dissipation of the stockpiles, for general disarmament—for these we have time; not unlimited time, it is true, but still enough. For a cessation of tests, however, we have none; each day that passes without the removal of that threat is a day irretrievably lost.

This radiation peril arising from nuclear explosions is so great, so increasingly manifest, that large sections of the world's population, for whom general disarmament is a pacifist Utopia and even a ban on the manufacture and use of H-bombs a secondary or questionable concern, are highly alarmed and ready to join in a movement to end the tests. To dissolve this issue of unsurpassed sensitivity into a brew with others of a far less compelling nature is to throw away the one advantage that history presents us with as compensation for the bomb's terrible portent. The duty incumbent upon those of us who have full consciousness of the danger is to pitch the voice of all awakened mankind to one insistent key: End the tests! It is unnecessary in a double sense to add that, should this be achieved, much more than to-day ranks as mere hope would lie within grasp. But for the moment, to overreach is to grievously underreach.

It is with these considerations in mind that we of *Contemporary Issues* have joined in organising committees to halt nuclear tests in those parts of the United States in which we have been capable of acting with effect. These committees are circulating petitions which

call for only one thing, but for that unambiguously: The immediate, unilateral cessation of nuclear tests by the United States, without regard for "international agreement". Our campaign, like our forces, is modest, and we hold forth no guarantee that it will snowball into an irresistible movement at a time when others with greater resources, but with eyes upon the propaganda shibboleths of the "cold war", tread the easier path of reliance upon "international agreement". But we have far more support and encouragement than when we first raised our voice, almost alone, against nuclear tests three years ago, and further developments, both in the field of international diplomacy and damage from H-Bomb tests, can only strengthen this tendency.

For you in Japan, however, there is no such problem; the sentiments of the vast majority are behind you in any step you may take against continued nuclear explosions. You can, to be sure, only raise your voice, but let that voice be loud, clear, unambiguous and direct. The powers that be have already had to listen.

Sincerely,
Paul Ecker
for *Contemporary Issues*.

E. V. Swart

THE BUS BOYCOTT

A Letter from South Africa

9th September, 1957.

In reporting on events here, what immediately trips off the typewriter—nationally and internationally—are the two words "bus boycott". Some of our people recently had occasion to meet an American Professor of Anthropology at a Liberal Party "get-together"—one of the little mixed-gathering farces that occasionally are staged to impress overseas "opinion". We gather that the bus boycott has been featured on a fairly big scale in the overseas Press. I, therefore, take for granted that you know all about the Magnificence of the Struggle, the Herculean Walkers, the Amazing Orderliness and Organisation (this frightens the hell out of "them" as savages are not expected to have either), and the slap in the face for the N.A.T.S.! Off the record—the U.P. have taken to vociferous shelter—for the coming elections. That is all true—so help me!

In the light of information in the Press (the bare bones) I shall, for the time being, limit myself to a few points of special interest to us.

The boycott broke out spontaneously. Neither we (who made no claims), nor the A.N.C. [African National Congress], Vigilance Association, Stand Holders, etc. (who made claims), brought it about. Overnight, Alexandria and Pretoria were out against the penny increase, and other townships served by P.U.T.C.O. [the Bus Company], but threatened by no increase in fares—Orlando, Moroko, Jabavu—came out in sympathetic strikes. It was a political action on a high level. The sympathetic flare-up demonstrates the degree of national consciousness.

Later, Transport Action Committees were formed in all areas to serve the 200,000 people in struggle. These committees were made up of three delegates, each from all interested African organisations. In the first two weeks everybody concerned on committee displayed great enthusiasm and great heroism. The mood of the people was high and so was committee. On the Alexandra Committee we were represented by Dan Mokonyane, Lawrence Mayisela (for some time), Arthur Magerman and Simon Noge. As deliberations and actions proceeded, we managed to win over to our policy recommendations Madzunya in Alexandra and others in other townships—especially Sweiza—of whom later. These people belong to a dissident group in the A.N.C. known as The Africanists. Having influenced the leading people, the platform was now virtually ours. Not relying on, nor looking forward to, an indefinite martyrdom through walking—the Azikwelwa—and the A.N.C. leaders having no alternative to this, we pushed for the supporting weapon of stay-at-home in the townships. On the platform Dan, I, Madzunya, Motsele, explained and prepared for the next step: tired people need spells of rest from walking. The double tactic was to stay at home for a period and to walk to work for a period. Dan called upon the people to store food for “a rainy Monday”. Call for a stay-at-home was at this time still in the propaganda stage—the date not yet set. The official A.N.C. was opposed to our strike tactic. A deputation made up of their three big shots, Tambo, Letele, and Joe Matthews, visited our people (not the committee) and attempted to dissuade us from the course we had adopted. Interesting also! The S.A. Bond (a breakaway from the Nationalist Party for unity with English-speaking S.A.) approached again (not the committee) but our people with an expression of deep sympathy for the boycotters but called upon us to discontinue the struggle, as the first task to be tackled in our country was the creation of unity among the whites. No A.N.C. speaker spoke in favour of stay-at-home; but none of them had the temerity to speak against it. Later, and quite accidentally, through a U.P. member of the City Council, we learnt that it was this threat of a strike that sent members

of the Chamber of Commerce rushing round like mad rabbits. Presto! The offer from them of £25,000 to subsidise P.U.T.C.O. for a period of three months to take the heat off, at least for a time.

As said—the first two weeks were a happy honeymoon. But, from then on, with our recommendation of the strike weapon, and with the offer from the Chamber, committee meetings in all areas were characterised by a nibbling attempt on the part of the A.N.C. members to recommend, and possibly accept, various schemes for a settlement of the dispute—schemes put forward by interested opposition in the Press and in leaflets and roneoed documents. A *fanfare* on behalf of the Chamber of Commerce, Industry, the City Council, P.U.T.C.O., etc. Lillian [Mrs. E. V. Swart] and I were always apprised by our people when an “expectation” of this kind was on the agenda of a committee and we always managed to turn up at the crucial moment. Neither of us was a member of committee but—except for one occasion—it was not possible—much as they wrangled and disputed—to keep us out of their deliberations. At our first attendance we managed to scotch some of the self-interested manoeuvres of the A.N.C.—the utilisation of boycott meetings three times a week for raising funds for the Treason Trial and for payments to lawyers for what was a useless resort to Court. Most important, we were able on committee to hamstring phoney proposals for ending the boycott. One of the proposals was that the people should buy on the bus a 5d. ticket, and the 1d. on every ticket would be refunded afterwards by queuing at a kiosk. This obviously meant a double queue, in queuing conditions that, even under normal circumstances, had already nearly reached breaking-point. On another occasion on the agenda, under the rubric “rumours in the Press”, settlement was proposed for purchase on the bus of a 5d. ticket for 4d. This at least was more astute, as it eliminated the extra queue. At this juncture, the £25,000 made it possible for the people to ride at 4d. for three months. Our people in committee opposed the temporary “solution”. In addition we pointed out that the tender of 4d. for a 5d. ticket was only available for those boarding buses at termini in townships and in town and that most of those who boarded the buses along the route would be required to pay 5d. At the public meeting on the following Sunday (I speak only of Alexandra, as that day we were unable to attend meetings in other areas) the proposal was put by the A.N.C. leaders. By the way, the proposal was passed on committee by 19 votes to three. On all occasions, when suspect schemes were under consideration, our people were hopelessly outvoted on committee, only to be positively acclaimed at huge public meetings. On occasions like this, Dan would mount the platform with the aside: “This is where the minority becomes the majority”. I leave to your imagination the accusations of dictatorship of the Movement for a

Democracy of Content. But to return. At this meeting for the last settlement proposal—a monster meeting of about 10,000—the scheme was violently and unanimously rejected with Dan and Madzunya as spokesmen for the decision. The people were told by Dan to follow up the rejection of the scheme by a stay-at-home to begin on the Monday. From the response to this proposal it was clear that, while this tactic had gradually become a part of common consciousness, the situation was not yet, by any means, unanimously ripe. Propaganda had, however, been continuously and clearly made, and the setting of the date was the threat which, we hoped, would bring the opposition to heel. The A.N.C. thought differently. In spite of the utter rejection of the scheme, they issued a leaflet hailing the £25,000 as a “magnificent gesture on the part of the Chamber of Commerce”, welcoming the victorious end to the boycott, and calling upon the people to board the buses.

Dramatically the following morning at 3 o'clock P.U.T.C.O. responded with what seemed a victory for them. The Company had withdrawn the buses on all routes from 1st March, with an ultimatum that they would not return their service until responsible leaders (as against “extremists”) approached them, on behalf of the people, demanding a resumption of service. In this day and age such leaders still exist in abundance, but, in the total absence of *rapport* with the masses, they are eunuchs, unable to work the old tricks. For a very long time now any attempt by them to recommend co-operation with the friendly authorities has proved dangerous to themselves. Invariably they have been shouted down, stoned, and threatened. Without being approached, cajoled, begged (Alice, you remember, could see nobody) the bus company, with loudspeakers, floodlights, etc., returned the buses to the route. They probably thought the A.N.C. leaflet had fulfilled the terms of their ultimatum. The people, after 14 weary weeks, again boarded the buses. It was an interim in which both sides saw victory. The Company had a 5d. ticket at a 4d. fare (thus circumventing the Transportation Act) and a three months’ interruption in struggle which they thought would discourage a resumption of boycott at a later stage. The boycotters were riding, to their satisfaction, at 4d. With the exception of our people on committee, the rest of the leadership and organisations were satisfied that justice had been done and “the disaster”, “the possible blood-bath”, consequent upon a strike, avoided.

I should like to recap the interplay of leadership in the struggle up to the temporary settlement in more schematic form. In 1954, when an increase in fares was threatened and preparations for boycott were under way, the A.N.C. established a monopoly of the various squares (traditional public meeting places) under their banner. Speakers from other organisations were not invited but openly

threatened. Gumeda, from the Vigilance Association, was seriously beaten up for attempting to share their platform. It was dictatorship with thugs and the lot. But at the beginning of the recent boycott they made (for reasons best known to themselves) a *volte face*. All organisations were welcome. Because of this Dan had free access to the platform and so did the Africanists. During the two weeks' honeymoon, the two organisations were able firmly to establish themselves. The promotion of Dan on to the committee is a transparent indication of the growth of our importance in the struggle: from Propaganda Secretary to Assistant Secretary, to Secretary. We advanced, so much so, that the A.N.C. officials could not keep us off the platform. Apart from his brilliance as a speaker, Dan had made it quite clear that he understood every twist and turn in the struggle, and was regarded by them as an indispensable person. As Madzunya, Motsele, etc., drew closer to our way of approach they became equally indispensable. Whenever they tried to keep these men off the platform—and they tried every bureaucratic device—they were defeated by the crowd who shouted for them by name. (I give these few details to make it clear that quality had become firmly lodged.) It developed into a constant platform tug-of-war which became fiercer as the boycott continued. I was no longer allowed on the platform and Lillian and I could do no more than continue to attend all meetings sitting up against the platform. On one occasion, to prevent me from speaking, Nzo (an A.N.C. big shot) threatened to arrange to beat me up if I did not quietly walk away from the meeting. A minute or so later a brick was thrown at me which hit me rather badly on the upper arm. As things proceeded, it became clearer and clearer that our people were in the ascendant, especially at those meetings, frequent towards the end, where the A.N.C. were battling to have settlement at all costs. Whenever the people shouted them down, started milling around, which betokened an ugly mood, pressed up against the platform (a table) which would have toppled by sheer weight—the speaker in trouble would be saved by jumping down to join us where we were sitting, and the Chairman would immediately announce as speakers either Mokonyane or Madzunya. We in fact always saved them from an ugly situation and they grew to know it. One such occasion is worth mention. Mr. Mahlangu, in hysterical determination, was trying to read out to the crowd one of the famous settlement schemes. Except for an intermittent moment here and there he was not given a hearing. As he persisted, the shouting grew louder, the threats stronger, the crowd swirling angrily. With one of those inspirations, not to be accounted for, I had the presence of mind to shout loud and long: "Burn it!" Thousands took up the cry. Mahlangu held up the scheme he was reading to show he agreed and produced a match, but his hand was trembling so

much he could not manage to light it. Madzunya jumped on to the platform and together with Dan did the job. There were cheers all over. The mood had subsided and the people started singing. I can honestly say, from innumerable instances, that had we not been present meetings would have broken up in violence with infinite gratification on the part of Government and police. Beyond doubt we emerged as the decisive element.

I have limited myself to the platform participation of personnel from the various organisations. I might as well take the opportunity in this place (although a little irrelevant in this context) of responding to some questions. In a letter from Andrew [Maxwell], in connection with the bus strike article, he refers to some remarks I made, way back, on the A.N.C., and would like to know more from us. Shortly—the A.N.C. is by no means a homogeneous organisation. It is made up of what it is best to call the official A.N.C. section, the Africanists and the Youth League. The official core is made up of all members and officials dominated by the C.O.D. [Congress of Democrats] in international respects and who also accept, as policy for struggle in S.A., the “Freedom Charter”. The other two sections are in their thinking and endeavour Nationalists. They take very seriously what the core regards rather as an opportune slogan and sign—Africa for the Africans! You understand now why it is possible, *on occasion*, to work in very closely with them—in many discussions, making it clearer and clearer for them what the real content of African Nationalism is, and in practice in *favourable* circumstances. In the 1954 bus trouble there was no possibility, because the official core was in the ascendancy and, consequently, the approach bureaucratic, and the platform monolithic. Shortly after the Defiance Campaign, this was understandable. It was at that time that I wrote that, dominated by the C.O.D., it was *impossible* to work with them. Things are different at the moment. With the Treason Trial on, they are short of the required leadership, and other sections had to be pushed into the fore; even other organisations had to be called in to help. As a matter of fact, the divergencies within their ranks have, for the moment, become so sharp that, at the full-scale yearly conference of the Youth League held over the long week-end, a programme battle is to be fought, either for self-determination and independence for Africa, or for the “Freedom Charter”. Once all the details have been brought in and sifted—we have many friends amongst the Africanists and the Youth League—we shall be able to write further on the poor A.N.C. I hope what I have said, both about the bus boycott platform, and in general, has made matters a little clearer.

But to return. After the so-called settlement had been accepted we continued to hold weekly public meetings. These meetings were

made up of a solid core of die-hards, usually between 200 and 300, as against the meetings during the boycott of between 3,000 and 6,000. As against the complacents, we knew that, even taken in physical respects alone, the boycott was not over. During the struggle, thousands had, by means of a shorter walk, been able to take alternative transport, and thousands had bought bicycles. The Company still continued to be badly hit and we knew they would not relish fresh wounds. Also the "settlement" was at this stage *temporary*. Speakers (by now only ourselves and the Africanists) tirelessly explained the short-term nature of the settlement, that the money from the Chamber of Commerce would be exhausted by the 1st of July—that matters had only been postponed not solved. The A.N.C.-ers having dropped out of committee, we were able to issue our own leaflet in the name of the committee for the AZIKWELWA. In it we put forward the only terms for settlement—"a 4d. fare for a 4d. ticket on a long-term basis". Throughout this last period we were treated by all and sundry as extremists, opportunists, wreckers, Talmudists (only the C.P. could think up this last). We continued to nurse forces for a continuation, if necessary, and the utilisation of the strike weapon. Sure enough, before July, the Government bent and broke their "we-will-not-budge-an-inch" speeches—but not before another event of great importance had happened. Struggles are so many and interconnected now that each one helps general consciousness always a step further.

Towards the end of May, well before the 1st July D-day, the Government tried to implement its introduction of permits for African women. Up till now, women, unlike men, have not been required to carry permits (passes). Two hundred women were arrested for not being in possession of a permit, something which shook and enraged the whole of Sophiatown. We were well prepared for intervention and leadership. We remarked earlier that the bus struggle had brought us into contact with Sweiza and various of his friends—all Africanists. These people were the most influential on the Anti-Permit Committee previously set up. Contact was immediately established. We learnt that the committee had encouraged thousands of people from Sophiatown to proceed to the Town Hall in Johannesburg for an audience with the Mayor, for his friendly intercession on their behalf. A quick discussion was taken among ourselves and we decided that we would try to discourage them from consultation with the Mayor which would be futile and something that might bolster up illusions among the masses. The weapon to be resorted to, to put an end to further arrest, was obviously the stay-at-home. But it was understood clearly that if they persisted in taking their grievances to the Mayor, we should not oppose them. The main thing was to plug for strike *as well*. Dan and Gilbert

Nhilapo rushed to the committee. Interesting this: the official A.N.C. bitterly opposed any suggestion of a residential strike. But we won the day as the Africanists were in the majority. Propaganda was immediately made, and the following morning at dawn the whole of the township passed by Freedom Square. About 7,000 were mustered for a procession to town to see the Mayor, told not to go to work but, their business over, to return in procession to Sophiatown for an afternoon meeting. The rest were asked to disperse and stay at home. The deputation part of it turned out, as we expected, to be a damp squib. The Mayor gave audience to Sweiza and his committee; but, beyond vague promises of sympathy, nothing was achieved. The result also turned into a boomerang. The Mayor was frightened by so huge a crowd in the vicinity as was also Johannesburg. The Mayor's failure to appear in front of the crowd enraged them. In fact he did not appear until practically the whole crowd had more or less dispersed. Dan and our people, together with the Africanists, addressed the afternoon meeting. It was the biggest I know of on the Rand—an estimated crowd of 30,000. The arrests by the police were dropped immediately like a hot cake. How wonderful! The propaganda we, and we alone, had been putting forward for stay-at-home throughout the interlaced struggles had caught on like wild-fire. I must admit we were all stunned at the decisiveness of the event and a victory that took no longer than 24 hours. The Government too must have been stunned. Our meetings in the various townships on the resort to boycott and stay-at-home should a long-term settlement not be arrived at, could no longer be regarded as an idle threat or the Talmudism of "extremists". However that may be, the Government toed the line on the boycott. Legislation was duly passed. The Transportation Act which had fixed fares by law on all P.U.T.C.O. routes at a minimum of 5d. (something declared by Mr. Schoeman, in his usual strong-arm act, as unalterable) was altered, and 4d. was made legal. In addition the Native Levy (a tax on employers for each native employed by them) was increased by 1s. 6d. making additional funds available for a permanent subsidy of fares.

For a rounded picture there is another event which occurred between the Sophiatown demonstration and strike and the boycott settlement which cannot be left out. Another A.N.C. story. To reiterate: I stressed the fact that at no stage did they support stay-at-home as a tactic and that they actually opposed it on the Sophiatown Anti-Permit Committee. Their leaders did not participate in the Sophiatown business although the A.N.C. made big claims in *New Age*, as did the rest of the Press for them. We, as usual, got no publicity. However. The "Freedom Charter" was due to have a birthday on the 26th June. Leaflets, pamphlets, posters,

New Age publicity, were set in motion to call monster meetings in celebration. At the last moment it was decided to call for a one-day stay-at-home in support of the celebration meetings throughout the country. At public meetings, held hurriedly in the various townships, the people who gathered were ordered to carry out instructions—or else. They were told that anyone attempting to go to work would be beaten up, and those who escaped punishment would be followed to their homes and killed. It might sound unbelievable, but among masses this has an effect—especially from an organisation which from time to time has used thug methods and is well known for a consistent bullying approach. When this stay-at-home tactic was in our hands, it was pioneered spontaneously and unanimously in Sophiatown, by explaining patiently wherever possible until it gradually seeped through as possible *practical* action on a growing basis of understanding. But their threats at thuggery—while they show up the A.N.C. for what they are—were not our main objection to the move, while we were in no position to *come to grips* with their methods. We were against strike because it was not connected with anything *practical*, but was given, as far as the masses were concerned, as an up-in-the-air abstract goal. It was something called suddenly, and we had no time to issue a leaflet to explain our position. Dan did manage, however, to get on to the platform in Alexandra to explain to the people that they should think it over carefully and not resort to a weapon, powerful in the right context, but *at the moment* quite out of place on such an issue. The result was that the response in Alexandra was a disappointment to the “Charterists”. In Sophiatown, hot on the heels of our recent success, a very large percentage stayed at home. Other townships were also affected. That residential strike consciousness had come into being on an interconnected basis was demonstrated. The Government must have taken cognisance of this, and written it in as a factor for the advisability of a bus settlement.

So far the chronicle. If my memory serves me rightly—14 weeks of walking and three months during which we held intransigent weekly meetings for a full settlement. More than half a year—but we licked them! I am tempted to leave it at that, and, in fact, to do more, to describe in detail all the exhausting scurry behind the scenes—the innumerable meetings between boycott leaders and the authorities attempting to persuade for settlement—the City Council, Chambers of Commerce and Industry, the Bus Company, Liberals like Bishop Reeves and his ilk, etc., the shocks experienced by all negotiating participants at the intransigence, hardness, scorn, wit, and political gifts handed out to them by our people, the rejection by us of bribes (substantial), favours—to relate the unseen in all its colour would require a book, for which I have *at this stage* simply no time. But I do want to pinpoint a few of our experiences

in a different sort of scurry. On the part of, not the negotiators, but of those organisations identified with the struggle—those who, whenever they are on the platform, are prepared to die for the people, or who in print acclaim the people “voting with their feet”, and marching towards the “Freedom Charter” or the “Ten Point Programme”—I naturally mean the individual A.N.C. demagogical speakers, the Congress of Democrats (alias the C.P.) and the N.E.U.M. [Non-European Unity Movement] monument. As the struggle hardened, after the second week we were pestered by all manner of men. One type, of course, was “doing what comes naturally”—who—but—the C.I.D., in the two colours that do not constitute colour—black and white. But seriously: at this stage and until the end we were acknowledged, we were sought after. The “Left” Press and the African Press, as well as the *Rand Daily Mail* were beginning to hint at a master mind behind the whole issue; in small dollops the name of the Movement for a Democracy of Content was being derogatorily indicated. We became the hidden centre to be reckoned with—although God knows, we were at all times public enough—though given little publicity . . . O.K.—the centre. Individuals from the organisations mentioned developed a habit of dropping in to discuss, but actually to find out what our next step would be, to test the pulse of our intentions, etc. And always the Greek Chorus. The warnings. The calamity. The blood bath. Hysterical attempts to make us call off township strikes. Moderation was recommended. Go-slow strike instead—to build up the Trade Union Movement to take the place of mere location politics. Impossible to encourage them to walk beyond their *psychological* (!) limit. Here, too, short of a book, I fall down. In the raw, in the rough, they expose themselves as silly Colonial phantoms—as Liberals, irrespective of the name of their organisation, who, in everything they do and think, are obsessively impelled by the Alpha and Omega of conscience and fear—and they fear mainly the masses in motion.

In the whole criss-cross of events, each adding its quota to the further facilitation of understanding in struggle, we must perforce return again to the bus boycott. I left it off at the point of permanent settlement. But you cannot, unfortunately, expect me to stop there. Almost immediately we discovered that Pretoria had not been included in the settlement. The bus fare to Pretoria had been reduced to 4d. but the route had been shortened by four miles. The people were still continuing their boycott, i.e., in the largest location—Lady Selborne. The A.N.C., who had assured the people that they would reject any proposals which did not make provision for Pretoria, betrayed their undertaking in their leaflet welcoming the temporary settlement. They left the matter in silence and the leaders were nowhere to be found. When the subsidised settlement also left Pretoria out there was no

recourse but for us to act. We contacted two dissident A.N.C. members and a member of the Vigilance Association who had organised the continuation of the boycott and, through them, Dan and myself, accompanied by Lillian, were able to speak at a fairly big meeting. It was a smashing success, especially in the way that what we said was passed on by word of mouth. We put forward the possibility of calling all affected areas out again in sympathy boycotts in support of Pretoria with the possibility of stay-at-home should the authorities remain stubborn. Immediately afterwards we drew up a Press statement, but it appears that the policy is to kill us by silence, so we were informed by a *Daily Mail* reporter who recently visited us. Incidentally, he also informs us that the real leadership is recognised but the policy is to continue to ascribe it to the A.N.C.—better the devil you know than the devil you don't. Result—only the *World* published a summarised version. Not even the *Golden City Post*, in spite of the Assistant Editor Can Temba, who stands close to us, published.

Our plan is this. We shall push forward in all areas served by P.U.T.C.O. for sympathetic involvement. That was the level of consciousness achieved during the boycott and it has to be tested further. On our success after peak we are not prepared to lay a bet. We confidently envisage sizeable public meetings at which propaganda for unity will fall on fallow ground, even in the absence of action. In Sophiatown, only a week after the Pretoria meeting, we had occasion to test this. The Government, while having laid low since last time, had again arrested 200 women for not having permits. In protest, 3,000 people gathered. While naturally speaking on the actual issue I, at the same time, took the opportunity of raising the question of sympathy boycott for Pretoria and got a rousing AZIKWELWA decision. It looks good, very good, but we shall have to wait and see. Further steps we have taken in this connection: we sent out a letter of invitation to the various boycott committees, inviting representatives to a joint meeting to discuss. With many people away at the A.N.C. conference the meeting was small, but the decision unanimous. With everybody back a similar meeting will be called. The A.N.C. leadership, I believe, is opposed, which is understandable, since they did not get in first. Almost forgot: We did hold a meeting at Alexandra, which was small but enthusiastically in favour. Should we get things through we will publish many thousands of leaflets.

What an omission! I almost described settlement of the boycott without including the police who, unlike Pretoria, cannot be left out. As always they are our most constant followers and their attendance is always big. At no stage did we taunt them as some of the A.N.C. speakers did—they were merely ignored. Only on one occasion a

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group of African policemen, about 80, were stormed at a meeting and stoned all the way to the police station. Many of their helmets were lost in the getaway and one can imagine what the behaviour of outraged *sacrosanct* sergeants and higher-ups must have been. For the rest, everything was peaceful, although we did suffer a few brief reprisals. Dan was arrested on two occasions, on the second occasion being beaten up by P.U.T.C.O. drivers in the police van. The charges preferred were for not carrying a pass. But in the police station, from the talk and the swearing of the sergeants and constables, it was clearly done to intimidate him politically and mainly to keep him off the platform. Gilbert Nhlapo was arrested on false charges—later withdrawn. However, during his 48 hours in the cells he was thoroughly beaten up. We laid a charge of assault, and had the satisfaction of getting the sergeant in charge demoted. Madzunya was arrested a few times. In all cases, what made the police livid was that we were able to force them to lay charges, even at 3 o'clock in the morning, with a lawyer and a barrister on the spot. In this respect we are really lucky. Quite a few outstanding legal men are sympathisers of our movement and are consequently at their best on the job. They do our work for us without fees.

I have tried my best in this letter but, as I said, short of a book, I have only indicated a modicum of what is here happening to us. Things are moving and moving fast. I shall have to continue this letter on our work on the Anti-Permit struggle, and in the reserves, and the growth of groups here.

Magna est veritas et praevalebit!

"Air Vice-Marshal Sir Laurence Sinclair, 49, for two years commander of the British forces in the Arabian Peninsula, arrived at Tilbury to-day feeling confident that the rebels in Yemen and the Oman have been quelled.

"He was the man who organised the attacks on the Oman rebel fort. 'The rebels are licking their wounds up in the mountains,' he said. 'I don't expect any trouble there for a long time. The natives now prefer the truth we give them to the lies broadcast from Egypt.'"—*Evening Standard*, 24th October, 1957.





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